HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Advice to Congress:

Slash Spending Instead of Raising Taxes

By HENRY HAZLITT

If federal spending were slashed heroically—as it should be—there would be no need for the $10 billion-a-year tax increase that the President demands.

In every respect Mr. Johnson's message made grim reading. It revealed that the government no longer knows how to estimate in advance what it will spend or what it will get. Only seven months ago the President estimated that the deficit in the current fiscal year would be $8.1 billion. Now he tells us it may be $23.6 billion. In January, 1966, he estimated the 1967 fiscal year deficit at $1.8 billion. It turned out to be $9.9 billion.

What is shocking is that the President even now fails to suggest a single real cut in expenditures. He pays repeated lip service to "restraint." He "pledges" that he will make "every possible expenditure reduction"—but he can't think of anything specific. He bluntly refuses to give up, reduce or postpone a single one of his extravagant "Great Society" "programs that have been begun . . . in the last three and one-half years."

He contends that most of the expenditure programs are "uncontrollable" anyway because the payments "are definitely fixed by law." This alibi ignores the fact that these payments can be reduced or repealed by other laws. The President also forgets that he originally recommended most of the "earlier commitments" which, he now pleads, tie his hands.

He rightly blames Congress for sometimes increasing even his own profligate spending recommendations. But he has never even asked, as have other Presidents, for the item veto.

Even with the whopping tax increase, the President's proposals are fiscally irresponsible. His tax increases, he says, would raise $7.4 billion in fiscal 1968. But even on his own estimates this would still leave a $15 to $18 billion deficit.

This deficit he calls "manageable," whatever that may mean. It would be in fact the biggest deficit in 28 years. And it would be obvious and ominously inflationary. Under present conditions nothing can prevent further inflation but a balanced budget.

To blance the budget with his present spending program the President would have to propose tax increases to raise in fiscal 1968 not $7.4 billion, but $22 to $25 billion. He knows that an attempt to impose such a staggering increase would send the economy into a tailspin. So the situation flatly refutes his own repeated contention that the taxpayers can "afford" to pay simultaneously for the Viet Nam war and all his present and proposed welfare and handout programs on top of it.

The duty of Congress is unpalatable but unmistakable. Before it grants a dollar of tax increase it should memorialize the President, asking him to cut from $15 to $28 billion from his annual expenditures.

This may seem startling, but is certainly not impossible. We have only to recall that total cash spending now estimated for 1968 would exceed that in the last full Eisenhower year, 1960, by $86 billion, while non-defense expenditures alone would exceed those of 1960 by $51 billion.

President Johnson's top fiscal advisers have pleaded with the House Ways and Means Committee for the whopping 10 per cent tax surcharge. From left are: Gardner Ackley, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler and Budget Director Charles Schultze.

Congress would have to do much more than recommend this total spending cut. It would have to itemize just where it should be made—just which programs should be postponed, which curtailed and which eliminated entirely.

An unpleasant duty. But what is the alternative? It is to go along with the present profligate spending program, to impose Mr. Johnson's inadequate but unsettling tax increase and deliberately to run a deficit between $15 and $18 billion. This would bring a further inflation that, to use Mr. Johnson's own words, "would rob the poor, the elderly, the millions with fixed incomes."

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Tax Hike: 'Bitter Fruit of Political Dishonesty'

By BARRY GOLDWATER

President Lyndon B. Johnson is passing the buck again. He's passing the buck to *you* and to *your* family. To be exact, he's passing $28 *billion* bucks—the amount that he wants you and your family to pay to make up for the deficit.

His request for a 10 per cent hike in your taxes adds up that way. It also adds up to the bitter fruit of political dishonesty, of refusing earlier to level with the people.

And if you have an idea that because your income bracket won't be affected by this new tax bite and you aren't going to be hurt—reconsider. The 10 per cent extra that Lyndon Johnson wants also would come out of business in general. Economy would slow down. Prices would be raised. Wages would be lowered and probably some layoffs would result. Mr. Johnson's tax plan would hit and hurt everyone in the land.

The reason that Lyndon Johnson wants you to pay more taxes is so that his wild spending won't end up $28 billion in the red. Much of that spending is for the war, of course.

Mr. Johnson knew *that* money would be needed long ago. Robert McNamara knew *that* money would be needed a long time ago. Neither leveled with us. Now they must hit the panic button.

The main reason for this latest assault on our pocketbooks, however, is not the war but rather the refusal of this Administration to put first things first, to pay as it goes, to spend within its means. It is the refusal of this Administration to cut by any meaningful amount the rising, staggering spending that it is doing on purely political give-away programs—such as the poverty funds which, as ample testimony now tells us, have been used to finance the very groups that have trained people and agitated people to participate in the recent bloody riots in our cities.

Look at the latest budget for which Mr. Johnson now asks that you dig down in your pocket, or pay higher prices, or watch your wages dry up.

The cost of the war forced defense spending to go up by $18.4 billion. That is understandable. The American people can understand it but can't comprehend why the President, facing such an increase, didn't plan more wisely.

Take into consideration other spendings—non-defense expenditures Lyndon Johnson could reduce. What about the social programs that, in any other time of war, Americans have understood must be deferred?

No matter how hard Lyndon Johnson may pretend that he is doing his best to cut non-defense spending—he isn't. The Administration's last budget was raised by $17.8 billion.

There is no evidence of the President trying to economize or knowing that he may face one of the worst deficits in our history. There is no evidence of his facing the hard facts of life. There is only evidence of an Administration determined to spend as usual no matter what the consequences.

And now, as you should have come to expect, you are being handed the bill. Once again, the most wildly spending bureaucrats, ever having plundered our treasury, are going to try to squeeze more blood out of your wages and the savings of your family.

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NEWSPAPER

You Can INFLUENCE the INFLUENCERS

See page 16

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● Not widely known is that **David Ginsburg,** executive director of LBJ's special advisory commission on civil disorders, is a founder of the leftist Americans for Democratic Action. Ginsburg served as ADA national secretary, a fact strangely omitted in the biographical data released by the White House.

● A top pollster in New York says that **George Wallace** has been significantly aided by the riots, that even Northerners who look at him with a wary eye now say they might vote for him. One anti-Wallace politico who has taken a recent swing about the country estimates the former Alabama governor would pick up as many as 10 million votes if the election were held today.

● One reason Wallace has been picking up steam, says another savvy politico, is that some of the leading **Republican presidential candidates** have been refusing to speak out forthrightly on rioting and crime in the streets.

● Ted Sorensen emerged from a recent huddle with Kremlin leaders to say that Soviet officials regard **Bobby Kennedy** as a "man of the future," adding: "They want to know what he thinks, how he operates, what his prospects for the Presidency are, what kind of man he is, and whether he might visit the Soviet Union some day."

● Vactioning together in Hawaii in the month of August: Chief Justice **Earl Warren** and his wife and columnist Drew Pearson, a close friend of the family. Warren's arrival coincided with the last day of the American Bar Association convention, but he is not an ABA member. He quit at the time a special ABA committee report sharply criticized his Supreme Court decisions.

● Some political insiders are predicting that LBJ will get rid of **Ramsey Clark,** his namby-pamby attorney general, before the 1968 election.

● Here's one reason why the American people don't believe their government officials anymore. In our July 15 issue we quoted William E. Schaufele, who helps direct Central African Affairs for the **State Department,** as saying that Moise Tshombe was "none of our business"; in a letter to a reader Mr. Schaufele has now denied making this remark. Schaufele, however, is just not telling the truth. Capitol Hill editor Allan Ryskind still has notes of his conversation with Mr. Schaufele taken from an informal interview in Mr. Schaufele's office in the New State Department building on the afternoon of Wednesday July 5. We repeat: Mr. Schaufele said that the State Department considered Tshombe "none of our business."

● So angry are the Ripon Republicans with the election of conservatives at the Young Republican National Federation (YRNF) in Omaha that the **Ripon Forum,** a vehicle for the Hugh Scott-Jacob Javits viewpoint, has called upon the Republican National Committee to cut off funds and office space from the YRs. As a generous concession, the Riponers say these items can be restored, but only after the YR's slavishly obey the law as laid down by the Ripon Society and repudiate previous conservative sins.

● The liberal **Anti-Defamation League,** a Jewish organization that ferrets out anti-Semitism, has been somewhat embarrassed by the vicious outburst against Israel launched by the military leftist Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Though the ADL and its officers have written often and with alarm about anti-Semitism existing in conservative circles, it has been virtually silent about rampant anti-Semitism on the left.

● SNCC leader **Ralph Featherstone** denied his organization was anti-Semitic last week, despite SNCC's accusations that Israel had committed atrocities against the Arabs. In claiming SNCC was not anti-Jewish, Featherstone insisted it was opposing "only Jewish oppressors," a category that he applied to Israel and "those Jews in the little Jew shops in the ghettos."

● Sampling the preferences of over **1,300 delegates** to the 1964 Republican National Convention, nearly half of whom plan to attend the '68 affair, reporters for the American Broadcasting Co found that 48.5 per cent of the delegates favor former Vice President Richard Nixon, 17.1 per cent prefer Gov. Ronald Reagan, 13.2 per cent want Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and only 12.8 per cent pick Gov. George Romney as their first choice.

● Another interesting facet of that ABC poll: While nearly 40 per cent believed Nixon would be the best vote-getter, some 25.9 per cent thought it would be California's Reagan. On vote-getting ability Reagan outpolled Rocky by some 11 percentage points, Romney by 12 and the new liberal hope, Charles Percy, by 23.

● White House insiders report that one reason LBJ named Simon F. McHugh Jr. to a cushy job with the **Subversive Activities Control Board** was to enable McHugh to work as an "advance man" for the President in the 1968 campaign. It was thought that McHugh would be free to work on the campaign since a series of court decisions has virtually stripped the SACB of its duties. But a move in Congress to get around these court rulings and strengthen the board (see page 9) may well upset this Democratic strategy.

● Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) has uncovered an **incredible Pentagon document** that prohibits Naval personnel from taking part in parades and marches supporting our men in Viet Nam. The order was recently dispatched by Navy brass to all naval district commanders.

● Senate Judiciary Committee member **Edward Kennedy** (D.-Mass.) has come away from the recent anti-riot hearings with egg on his face. When the chairman of Nashville's federally funded anti-poverty program initially denied that tax money went to a "hate school" whose hero is Stokely Carmichael, Teddy said he hoped "the truth will catch up with the unfounded charges." Later, however, the chairman, the Rev. J. Paschall Davis, conceded his testimony had not been "exactly correct" and that money had been funnelled into the school. Moreover, he admitted during the hearings that a car had been leased for the school's use and that salaries had been drawn up for its SNCC leaders.

● Will the real **Jerome Cavanagh** please stand up? Detroit's mayor recently put the blame for his city's riots on Congress, arguing that it was "reactionary, indifferent, sometimes completely negative." Last August 23, however, Cavanagh had this to say: "The Congress has done many positive and forward-looking things in recent years to meet [the cities'] needs."

● Illinois senior senator Everett Dirksen is not overly pleased with the Presidential aspirations of junior senator **Charles Percy.** Asked to comment on Percy's ambitions to be a favorite-son candidate next year, Dirksen, after considerable pause, remarked to columnist Willard Edwards: "You may say that on that subject I am ambivalent." Webster's definition of ambivalence: "simultaneous attraction toward and repulsion from . . . a person."

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Will Hall Quit Romney?

While the press was focusing attention on some troubles in the Nixon-for-President movement last week, a bigger story in the making is the gloom now pervading the Romney camp. For the Michigan governor, it seems, is unable to get his campaign off the ground.

ROMNEY

Not only do the polls reveal a dazzling plummet from his previous popularity highs—the Cowles Minnesota Poll of August 17, for example, showed a 20-point drop-off since last December—but Cliff Folger, Romney's chief money-raiser, has been unable to tap the Eastern Establishment for the contributions necessary to fuel a presidential campaign. Although he is supposedly Romney's biggest backer, even Nelson Rockefeller is not coming through with any big sums of cash for the Michigan governor. (Many cynics, of course, believe that Rocky—despite protestations to the contrary—is hoping that no one, including Romney, will win enough delegates to capture the GOP nomination, thus forcing the '68 convention to turn to a "compromise candidate"—like Rockefeller.)

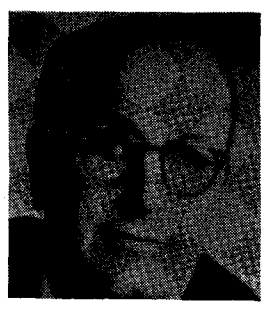
But the public polls and the lack of dollars are only part of the Romney problem. Another major obstacle is the Michigan governor's apparently inherent inability to deal with the issue of Viet Nam.

Only last week he once again confused the public by suggesting he was simultaneously opposed and unopposed to the escalation of the bombing in North Viet Nam. So confusing was his rhetoric on the subject that even one of his stoutest supporters, the Washington *Evening Star*, referred to his latest obfuscation as "this bowl of verbal mush."

Morale in the Romney headquarters is unquestionably at an all-time low. Whereas the chairman of the Nixon for President Committee, Dr. Gaylord Parkinson, resigned his post last week because of his wife's serious illness (and not because of political friction as some stories suggested), top brass in the Romney camp are thinking of quitting because they believe the Michigan governor just doesn't have what it takes to be nominated.

Indeed, the quitting has already begun. Ripon Society wheelhorse Bruce Chapman, considered a leading light among young Republican liberals, has reportedly left the Romney team in a "huff." And even more important defections are expected.

Human Events learns from reliable authorities that none other than the high-powered Leonard Hall, head of the Washington-based Romney for President Committee has been seriously casting about for another job. Close friends of the former Republican National Chairman have let the word out that he is "dissatisfied." Hall, in fact, has even made subtle overtures to the Nixon headquarters in Washington suggesting he would not be unhappy if Nixon could make room for his services (Hall was Nixon's campaign manager in 1960). Two weeks ago Hall made just such a hint to the Nixon people over lunch at Washington's fashionable Metropolitan Club.


HALL

If Hall were to leave for the Nixon camp, politicos say it would probably sound the death knell for the Romney campaign.

Even should Romney's now fragile Presidential organization remain intact, however, the Michigan governor's nomination prospects would still be bleak. According to Hall, Romney must capture the primaries in order to win the nomination. But the polls are far from encouraging. Romney is trailing Nixon in such states as California, Illinois and even liberal Oregon.

In Minnesota, where Romney still leads Nixon slightly, the governor's popularity among Republicans—according to the Minnesota Poll—has drastically fallen from 52 per cent as of last December to 32 per cent in mid-August.

Canvassing New Hampshire—scene of the first primary battle next year—the respected Opinion Research polling organization has found that 60 per cent of the Republican voters feel Nixon is the best qualified man in their party to be President. This compares with a vote of just 13 per cent for Romney.

With troubles multiplying and numerous prospective Romney supporters now switching their hopes to Percy or Rockefeller, many political observers are recalling the words of Romney man Robert Carter at the Governors' Conference in Jackson Hole, Wyo. "Romney," Carter proclaimed to a number of listeners, "will probably be dead in the fall."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

More Poverty Scandal

"Where does the anti-poverty law give the OEO power to use federal funds to pay people who make incendiary statements?" an outraged Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.) demanded recently. Mrs. Green, an original supporter of the War on Poverty, speaks for many of her colleagues. On both sides of the aisle, sentiment mounts for a top-to-bottom OEO housecleaning.

GREEN

Investigators for the House Education and Labor Committee last week returned to the Capital from Newark with information indicating that anti-poverty workers arranged the rally which triggered the city's massive riots. The probers also learned that Charles McCray, the accountant for Newark's anti-poverty agency, was arrested during the riots for firing a rifle from the window of a car. Anti-poverty officials have refused even to suspend McCray from his job.

Nor have they fired Willie Wright, a director of Newark's anti-poverty agency. Wright, who had previously called upon Negroes to arm themselves against "honkie cops," last week expanded on that theme: "Just a six-shooter won't be enough. Get yourself a machine gun, 'cause you're gonna need it. Every black man should buy a tank and put it in his backyard."

Elsewhere on the poverty front:

• Officials in Pikeville, Ky., arrested poverty worker Joe Mulloy on charges of sedition. Mulloy is a field representative for the federally financed Appalachian Volunteers. Arrested with Mulloy were Mr. and Mrs. Al McSurley of the radical left Southern Conference Education Fund. The SCEF is headed by Carl Braden, an accused Communist who has served time for contempt of Congress.

• Two former students indicted for murder in the May Houston riots were subsequently hired by that city's anti-poverty agency to work with poor children. They were suspended only after the local press raised a furor.

• In Memphis, Tenn., a local "community action" group refused to fire two poverty workers identified as "black power" advocates. Said one of the two: "If the newspapers would report it like it really is, if they'd come into here and really look at poverty, and stop worrying about inconsequential things like whether you're a 'Snick' or a Communist, maybe we wouldn't have to burn it down."

The Fight to Save Panama

Hope that Congress can block surrender of the strategic Panama Canal waterway has been buoyed by the belief that the House of Representatives may exert authority over some areas of the Administration's three controversial Canal treaties (see story on p. 6).

Under the proposed pacts, the United States would virtually relinquish all rights over the Canal Zone to the unstable and leftist-infiltrated government of Panama. All property not needed for the Canal's operation and now owned by the United States would be given outright to the Panamanians, with the remainder coming under the sole authority of a joint U.S.-Panama administrative body.

Diplomatic and military experts say surrender of U.S. territory to the Panamanians would be a disaster, but the treaties—despite the vigorous battle against their adoption by such senators as Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.)—could well be ratified by the overwhelmingly liberal Senate.

Moreover, expected opposition from Sen. Everett Dirksen, the GOP's Senate leader, has rapidly melted and other Republicans are expected to defer to former President Eisenhower's endorsement of the treaties. Whether two-thirds of the Senate can be persuaded into ratifying this surrender of U.S. sovereignty is still in doubt, however, and readers are asked to keep urging their senators to oppose the Panama giveaway.

Yet even if the treaties pass the Senate, there is now a distinct possibility that at least one of them can be effectively stopped in the House. While the Constitution empowers only the Senate to ratify treaties, legal experts believe the House can prevent the treaties' execution through its powers to dispose of territory belonging to the United States.

Prompted by a study of the situation by Rep. John Duncan (R.-Tenn.), the House foreign affairs subcommittee on Latin American relations states it clearly has a right to a voice in the treaties' implementation, a position that is known to be held by even some high State Department authorities. Article 4, Section 3, clause 2 of the Constitution provides:

DUNCAN

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting territory or other property of the United States; and nothing in the Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state."

In leading the battle to get the House to assert its rights with regard to the treaties, Rep. Duncan has received an advisory opinion favorable to his viewpoint from the legal department of the Library of Congress. Part of that opinion reads:

"Inasmuch as the Constitution vests in Congress as a body the power to dispose of federal property, it would appear thus that a treaty, ratified by the Senate alone, would be insufficient in and of itself to transfer United States property to any other person or nation. In other words, it is not a self-executing treaty. . . ."

Supporting the theme that the House must have a voice in the treaties, Rep. Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.) remarked that Duncan has established a "concrete case for showing that the House of Representatives must adopt enabling legislation before the United States cedes all sovereignty of the Panama Canal Zone to the Republic of Panama."

Hall pointed out that there is a clear precedent for the House to take an active role. To implement the 1955 treaty with Panama that conveyed $24 million worth of real estate to the Panamanian government, the House had to pass enabling legislation which was not approved until Aug. 30, 1957. In that instance, said Hall, "the Eisenhower Administration realized that this land conveyance could not

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be constitutionally consummated until the House of Representatives passed the necessary enabling legislation.

" . . . the Constitution and the aforementioned precedents establish, beyond doubt, the course of action in regard to the currently proposed Panama Canal Zone Treaty; there must be House action and approval before the Administration gives away the assets of the United States and of the American people."

Hence the belief that the House will demand its rightful role in dealing with the treaties. One hundred and fifty House members are already on record against the package, with the respected Selden Latin American affairs subcommittee having drafted a sense-of-Congress resolution also in opposition.

Thus there is the prediction that even if the Senate decides to approve the LBJ "giveaway" treaties, the House will simply refuse to enact any enabling legislation transferring American-owned territory in Panama to the local government.

Reagan's Big Win

Last week, San Francisco, of all places, gave California's Gov. Ronald Reagan yet another feather in his political cap. In a special election Republican Milton Marks defeated ultra-liberal Democrat John Burton for the State Senate, making that body's party lineup 20 to 20, with Republican Lt. Gov. Robert Finch holding the tie-breaking vote.

MARKS

The victory is not only considered a triumph for Reagan since Reagan endorsed Marks and Marks enthusiastically embraced the governor's program, but is also considered a severe setback for Lyndon Johnson and the Democrats. For the fact is that San Francisco, one of three counties that Reagan failed to carry in last fall's landslide win over Pat Brown, is 2-to-1 Democratic and has not had a Republican in the State Senate for 32 years. Moreover, both Hubert Humphrey and Robert Kennedy lent their prestige to the Burton campaign.

Both parties gave intense time and effort not usually associated with local elections and San Franciscans responded in kind. A whopping 68 per cent of the voters turned out (a record for a special election) and gave Municipal Judge Marks 106,407 votes to Assemblyman Burton's 100,736.

Although Marks has been tabbed as a "moderate" (he was appointed to the bench by Gov. Brown), he campaigned on a firm law and order issue, decried the hippies and urged support of the police. In general, Marks took what can be called "Reagan positions" on the problems besetting the city. But Burton, younger brother of peacenik Rep. Phillip Burton (D.-Calif.), chose to make Reagan the target of his campaign, perhaps feeling he was in one of the safest spots in California to do so.

Savvy Golden State politicos say Marks' stunning win is bound to give a big boost to Reagan's presidential stock.

Mundt Blocks Red Trade

Administration forces have been grumbling audibly these days about the activities of Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.), who has tossed some king-sized monkey wrenches into LBJ's schemes to expand trade with the Communist enemy.

MUNDT

Mundt, for example, recently played a significant role in getting the highly liberal Senate to pass the Byrd amendment barring the extension of Export-Import Bank credit to any country furnishing supplies to North Viet Nam.

The South Dakota Republican also persuaded his colleagues to adopt his own proposal specifically blocking the Fiat deal under which the United States would help the Soviets build a huge automotive plant equipped with high quality American machine tools.

And these victories are only the latest in Mundt's crusade against "building bridges" to the Communists. He has also been the guiding force behind CEASE, a grass-roots organization opposed to Red trade headed by former Connecticut Gov. John Lodge. Earlier this year, moreover, Mundt forced the government to cancel the sale to Communist Poland of a gravity meter the Defense Department acknowledges could be used to improve missile guidance systems.

Unappeased by this string of successes over the Administration, the South Dakotan is now waging a new campaign: He has introduced S. 2098 which calls for a total embargo on shipments to Communist countries supporting North Viet Nam.

Mundt becomes livid when he hears the Administration and its allies talk up trading with the Communists. He says: "Make no mistake about it, the weapons that kill our boys and shoot down our aircraft originate in Soviet factories." The Communist bloc in Europe, he points out, is also engaged in massive aid to Hanoi. Despite this clear fact, says Mundt, the Commerce Department both this year and last has approved for shipment to the Soviet Union important ingredients for the manufacture of explosives, rocket fuels and bullet-resistant glass.

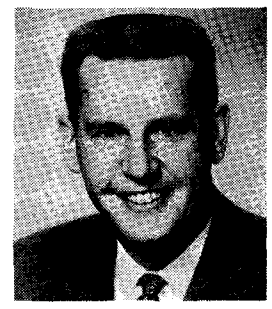
In addition, he says, we have sent the Soviets herbicides, insecticides, pesticides and other agricultural products which have helped the Soviets increase their grain yield per acre from 5 to 12 bushels.

Equally as foolhardy, says Mundt, is aid to the satellites. Immediately after having won a financial concession from the United States last year, he notes, the Poles announced a plan to extend $30 million in aid to North Viet Nam. "So long as hostilities in Viet Nam continue, so long as world communism arms and feeds terroristic insurrections in any foreign land," Mundt declares, "it is immoral to support them with trade."

White House Aids Enemy

While Congress has been attempting to drastically reduce American trade with Communist countries, the White House, through the President's chief scientific adviser, Dr. Donald F. Hornig, has been pressuring the Office of Export Control to license important scientific equipment for export to Communist countries.

Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.), the House's expert on Red trade, came across this information recently when he uncovered an inter-office memorandum that had gone to all members of the Office of Export Control (OEC). Prepared by OEC Director Rauer H. Meyer, the memo stressed that Dr. Hornig "is concerned over reported delays in our licensing of research instruments for scientific laboratories in Eastern Europe. He is especially desirous of expanding personal contacts between scientists in the United States and those in Eastern Europe, and he believes that expeditious handling of export license applications for scientific instruments to Eastern Europe will assist materially in attaining this objective. . . .


LIPSCOMB

"Because of the White House interest in this special group of applications, I want each of you to be especially watchful for them . . . In this way the front office will be in a better position to keep the difficult cases moving steadily forward."

The California congressmen says the pressure has apparently had quite an effect. Licenses, he noted, have recently been issued authorizing shipments of a variety of scientific instruments to such countries as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria and Rumania.

NSA Sponsors Lewd Concert

Observers of the 1,400 delegates and alternates attending the National Student Association conference at the University of Maryland were somewhat astonished last week to find the left-wing-dominated student organization in danger of disintegration.

Not only conservatives but liberals and leftists, the latter appalled by revelations that NSA had been funded for 15 years by the Central Intelligence Agency, were suggesting the student group be dissolved.

The militantly leftist Student for a Democratic Society, which had previously dominated NSA conventions, was boycotting this affair. YAF members and other conservatives, who for years have complained of NSA's leftist orientation and its unrepresentative nature, were egging on all the disenchanted to either wreck or totally reform the student organization.

The chances of NSA going out of business are still considered slim, however, primarily because the "kids who are on the payroll don't want to give up a good thing," as one student put it. And while the CIA is no longer NSA's major benefactor, the organization has been kept very much alive with funds from the United Auto Workers, the State Department, the Office of Economic Opportunity and many major foundations.

Despite the dissatisfaction with NSA by some leftists, the organization still revealed its radical bent in the course of the first week of convention activity:

- NSA sponsored the appearance of a singing group called the "Fugs," a quartet that has become popular on college campuses for singing obscene songs. (They also publish a pornographic magazine.) During their performance, a Viet Cong flag was put on the stage and the Fugs saluted it in a haphazard fashion.

- NSA sponsored a number of films with a heavy emphasis on pacifism. One film, "The Time of the Locust," deals sympathetically with the Viet Cong cause.

- NSA's leaders issued a call for a "new student movement free from the politics and tensions of the cold war," encompassing young persons on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

One humorous sidelight to the affair: NSA leaders, who were supposed to reveal their full financial dealings to the NSA conference, had to rely on help when they found their records were incomplete. A top NSA leader then called over to YAF headquarters which promptly furnished him with the missing records. YAF has been keeping tabs on NSA's activities for many years.

Reds Training U.S. Guerrillas?

Are Communist countries training Americans in guerrilla warfare techniques to be used in the United States? Stokely Carmichael, who went to Cuba recently to attend a Communist gathering on guerrilla warfare, brought along with him a number of SNCC and pro-Peking Progressive Labor party leaders, many of whom are planning to return to this country. Robert Franklin Williams, moreover, the Negro credited with founding the pro-Peking Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), whose followers in this country have been charged with attempting to assassinate Negro moderates, says he may soon return to America. Accused of kidnapping in North Carolina several years ago, Williams has written court officials to discover the current status of his case, saying he contemplated an "early return to Monroe."

WILLIAMS

Once a Fidelista and now living in Communist China, Williams used to make weekly broadcasts from Havana preaching black rebellion in the United States. A *Human Events* reader in Memphis, Tenn., says he recently received through the U.S. mails a copy of Williams' "Crusader" newspaper which emanates from Peking. It counselled: "Black troops sent to Viet Nam should kill as many of their real enemies as they can, at the front—they must understand that the racist life they spare at the front may be the thug, cop, Minuteman or Klansman who will brutalize them or lynch them at home."

• Uncle Sam turned the other cheek last week when Fidel Castro warned the U.S. to keep its hands off Stokely Carmichael when the military revolutionary returns home. The State Department had no comment on Castro's threat that "if any crime is committed against Carmichael it will have a profound repercussion."

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Castro Plans September Speech Before U.N.

Cuban dictator expected to call for revolution by Negro militants

From the Allen-Scott Report

Fidel Castro is going to personally carry his campaign of "violence, hate, and terror" against the United States to our shores.

The Cuban Communist dictator will launch his new anti-U.S. offensive with a major speech in New York during the coming September meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

U.S. and Latin American revolutionaries meeting in Havana last week were told of Castro's unannounced travel plans by members of the Cuban delegation attending the sessions of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO).

In addition to his U.N. trip, the Cuban delegates reported, Castro will travel to Canada for a visit at EXPO '67, and then fly to Moscow for the Communists' October celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

While in New York City, Castro also plans several meetings with "Black Power" militants, including Stokely Carmichael, now his guest at the LASO convention aimed at fomenting revolution in the Western Hemisphere.

One report given U.S. intelligence authorities by a diplomat of a friendly foreign government stationed in Havana quotes the Cuban delegates as saying:

"Castro plans to use the U.N. forum to encourage Negroes to wage guerrilla warfare in the U.S. He believes the time is ripe to touch off a civil war in the United States. By using the U.N. and meeting with Carmichael and other militant blacks on U.S. soil, Castro hopes to instill a spirit of open rebellion among Negro dissidents."

Black Power leader Stokely Carmichael gets a standing ovation as he rises to address the Castro-hosted LASO conference in Havana.

Because of this and other reports from Havana, U.S. intelligence sources now believe the public display of captured Cuban exiles as "CIA assassins" is linked to Castro's coming U.N. appearance. They feel Castro deliberately staged the prisoners' "press conference" as part of a build-up to justify his coming U.N. call for a Negro uprising in the United States.

They point out the Havana meeting of Communists from 27 Latin American nations called on U.S. Negroes "to take the path that employs revolutionary violence."

Whether Carmichael is on hand to meet Castro or carry out Havana conference objectives will depend a great deal on what the Secret Service is permitted to do.

In contrast to the Justice Department's do-nothing policy, Secret Service officials have informed the White House they are considering arresting Carmichael for his public threats against the President.

Unless there is a White House order to the contrary, Secret Service agents plan to pick up Carmichael immediately on his return to the United States from Cuba—probably early in September. Informants have advised the Secret Service that Carmichael plans to travel behind the Iron Curtain before returning to the United States.

Secret Service officials, whose job is to protect the President and his family, began studying Carmichael's statements after several members of Congress called them to their attention.

One of the first legislators to do this was Rep. Roman Pucinski, (D.-Ill.), who urged Secret Service Director James J. Rowley to have Carmichael picked up and detained for a mental examination "just the same as any other person who threatens the President."

Another member of Congress wrote Rowley that Carmichael's threats, coupled with his activities in Washington, where he has a headquarters within 10 blocks of the White House, made him a definite menace to the President's security.

Tapes of remarks Carmichael made about the President in several London speeches and lectures are being examined by the Secret Service after being obtained and flown here by U.S. embassy officials. The British have barred Carmichael from returning to that country because of his inflammatory speeches.

Statements about President and Mrs. Johnson by H. Rap Brown, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, are also being examined by the Secret Service.

Brown, now free on bond after being charged by that state with inciting a riot at Cambridge, Maryland, constantly calls the President "a mad, wild dog that must be stopped at all costs."

With a racial blowup predicted by some Negro leaders for the nation's capital in late September, Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.), has obtained a pledge from President Johnson that federal troops will be in Washington within 30 minutes after trouble breaks out.

In recent weeks McCormack also has ordered a quiet "beefing up" of the Capitol police force assigned to protect Congress and all Senate and House facilities. To provide the Capitol force with personnel trained in handling riots, a number of retired Viet Nam army combat veterans have been hired, including a number of Negroes.

In his personal directive to Capitol Police Chief James Powell, McCormack reported: "You are expected to use all force necessary to break up all demonstrations or riots on the Capitol grounds. All rioters and demonstrators should be arrested promptly.

"I have informed the attorney general that Congress expects the Justice Department to prosecute to the full extent of the law all rioters or demonstrators arrested on the Capitol grounds."

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Will MacLeish Save the Nation?

By RUSSELL KIRK

Mr. Archibald MacLeish, poet, wants my money. Not for his own coffers, though, but for Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho), Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) and other United States senators of the "dove" persuasion who may discover, at next year's elections, that instead of having the people at their back, they have turned their back upon the people.

So Mr. MacLeish (who never fails to recall those dear dead days when he was one of F.D.R.'s ghost-writers) serves as front-man for an unidentified group that is bent upon raising funds for Church and McGovern, in particular. His form letter to this commentator is dated, with poetic vagueness, simply "Summer 1967," and bears no return address—just his name at the top of the sheet. He kindly encloses an envelope, nevertheless, on which is printed "Archibald MacLeish, c/o 1968 Campaign Committee," at a District of Columbia post office box.

Almost any left-wing outfit can count on the endorsement of Mr. Archibald MacLeish, since he suspects practically everybody this side of Gus Hall of being a reactionary.

A dozen years ago, at the height of the Joe McCarthy furor, Mr. MacLeish published an article denouncing Mr. Walter Lippmann as an enemy of freedom and democracy. The fact that Mr. Lippmann had sternly criticized Sen. McCarthy only made matters worse, MacLeish reasoned: it was simply a clever dodge by that columnist to conceal his own innate McCarthyism.

Yet the anonymity of this "1968 Campaign Committee" is interesting. Why does only Mr. MacLeish's name appear at the head of this fund-appeal letter? Where are all those academic doves who have been so eager to put their names to full-page advertisements in the New York *Times*, denouncing American resistance in Viet Nam? Why this sudden shyness? Is MacLeish the only surviving peacenik?

Well, hardly. Can it be that there is some interesting coincidence between the leadership of this "1968 Campaign Committee" and the leadership of the National Conference for New Politics, which wants to nominate Dr. Martin Luther King for the presidency? The NCNP includes such organizations as the DuBois Clubs, listed by the FBI as a communist-front association. Why this touching modesty upon the part of radical folk who ordinarily are only too happy to see their names in print?

This commentator entertains a notion of the cause of this refreshing radical reticence. If it were known by the voters of Idaho and of South Dakota that the campaign money of Senators Church and McGovern was being raised outside their own states, by people who think that the Viet Cong and ideologues of Hanoi are saintly friends of all humankind—why, then those two "dove" senators might as well apply for jobs in the United Nations bureaucracy.

Senators Fulbright, Clark, Gore, Morse, Gruening, Nelson, McGovern and Church are in deep trouble with their constituents, because these Democratic senators want the United States to abandon all responsibilities in Southeast Asia. They won't get much help from President Johnson in their 1968 campaigns for re-election. And the help of Mr. MacLeish and his anonymous chums may be the kiss of death. I put no money in MacLeish's prepaid envelope.

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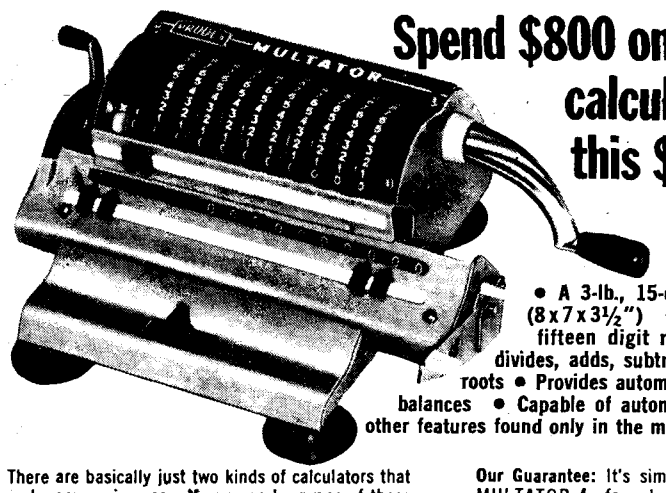

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Some Brief Historical Background

Will the U.S. Senate Save the Panama Canal?

By Prof. DONALD DOZER

In the new and still officially secret treaties with Panama, the Johnson Administration proposes to transfer to Panama the sovereign control over the Canal Zone and the Canal which the Theodore Roosevelt administration obtained "in perpetuity" from Panama in 1903 and which the United States has possessed ever since.

For over sixty years United States policy toward Panama and the Panama Canal was based on the assumption that the United States had sovereignty within the Canal Zone and that it exercised its sovereign control there in perpetuity. But President Johnson has officially renounced this basic policy position.

As early as 1881 President Rutherford B. Hayes declared that "the policy of this country is a canal under American control." When the United States deemed itself ready early in this present century to construct a canal through the narrow neck of Central America, Congress, in the Spooner Act of 1902 insisted, as an absolute prerequisite, that the United States must be given "perpetual control" over the Canal Zone in order to construct and perpetually maintain, operate, and protect the Canal. In the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain the United States had already assumed the obligation to build such a canal for its own use and for the benefit of world commerce.

Grant 'In Perpetuity'

Accordingly when Secretary of State John Hay signed the treaty with Panama in 1903 he obtained "in perpetuity" for the United States the grant of a ten-mile wide canal zone and all the rights, power and authority within the zone "which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory . . . to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority" (Article III).

Thus the United States obtained the degree of authority in the Canal Zone which was indispensable to the construction and operation of that great international waterway. It received from Panama a grant of authority "in perpetuity" which was commensurate with its treaty responsibility to world commerce.

In the treaty of 1903 the United States received explicitly a "grant," not a lease of the Canal Zone. It offered to pay Panama $250,000 a year starting nine years after the ratification of the treaty or at the approximate time when the canal would be completed.

But this annuity did not make the Canal Zone a mere leasehold of the United States. Rather, it was the exact amount of the annual subsidy which the Panama Railroad had been paying to Colombia and which the United States, as the new owner of the Railroad, now agreed to pay to Panama. And when upon the completion of the canal the Railroad lost its role as monopoly carrier in transisthmian traffic the United States began to make the annual indemnity payments of $250,000 to Panama on behalf of the Railroad. To this amount the Eisenhower Administration added in 1955 an annual gratuity of $1.5 million at the expense of United States taxpayers.

In addition, the United States gave Panama for the "grant" of the Canal Zone in full and total payment the sum of $10 million upon ratification of the treaty, and it subsequently purchased the land in the Canal Zone from the individual property owners in the amount of approximately $40 million. In addition, in order to extinguish the claims of Colombia, the parent of Panama, it paid Colombia $25 million in 1923.

The United States thus paid thrice over for its territory in Panama and in all paid more for the Panama Canal Zone than for all its other territorial possessions combined. In the Canal Zone the United States now has a public investment of almost $5 billion.

The "grant" of authority in the Zone which Panama made to the United States in 1903 was a sovereign act of the new government of Panama. Nevertheless since 1903 there have not been lacking politicians in both countries who insist that Panama was defrauded out of sovereign control over a strip of her own territory by President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay. International lawyers favorable to Panama's claim have tried to spin out a distinction between sovereignty on the one hand and the exercise of sovereignty on the other. The latter they call jurisdiction, and this alone, they argue, was transferred to the United States in 1903.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Readers who oppose the three Administration treaties on the Panama Canal are urged to write their senators immediately; as Prof. Dozer points out, only 34 negative votes are needed. Because they involve the disposition of U.S. property, the treaties may also be considered in the House. For the story on this development see page 3.

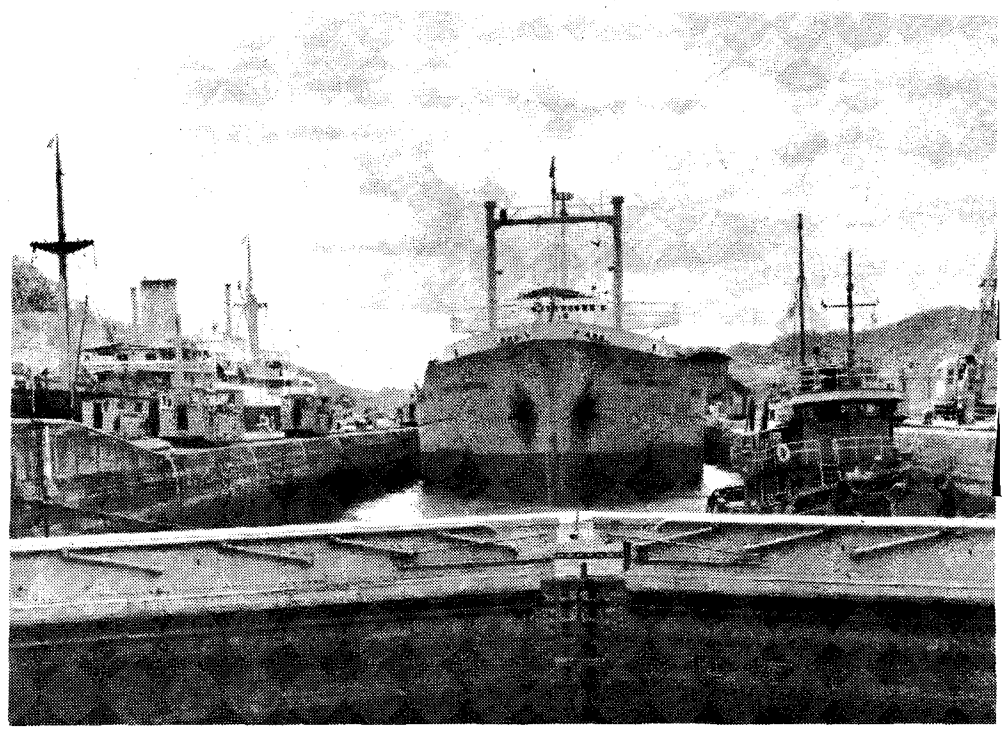
But this distinction overlooks the fact that jurisdiction "in perpetuity" can scarcely be differentiated from full sovereignty. Moreover, the treaty of 1903 stipulates that the United States shall exercise all its rights, power, and authority in the Canal Zone "to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority."

Even if the United States received merely jurisdiction or the right to exercise sovereignty over the Canal Zone, Panama at the same time waived forever any claim to the exercise of sovereignty in the Zone, including the claim to any voice in the construction or control of the canal, to the enforcement of policy authority in the Zone, to the right to fly the Panamanian flag in the Zone, and to all other sovereign rights there.

In the negotiation of the present treaties by the Johnson Administration the question of sovereignty has unfortunately been allowed to become a crucial issue.

The Hiss Report

All argument over the sovereign position of the United States in the Canal Zone should have been ended by the explanation given by Secretary of War William Howard Taft in 1905 that the only authority that Panama retained in the Canal Zone under the treaty of 1903 was "titular sovereignty," that is a reversionary or residual interest in it which Panama could claim if the United States ever withdrew from the Zone and abandoned its responsibility to maintain, operate, and protect the Zone and the Canal in perpetuity.



The canal has been a bulwark of U.S. security for more than half a century.

If and when that should happen, then the Canal and the Zone would revert to Panama and not to some other country, for example Colombia. Except for this claim which might conceivably become operative in the remote future Panama could neither claim nor exercise any sovereignty in the Zone.

Alger Hiss as a State Department official negated this policy and encouraged Panama to claim full sovereignty in 1947 when, without the knowledge or concurrence of the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, he submitted to the United Nations a report on the Panama Canal Zone describing it incorrectly as an "occupied territory."

Panama thereafter intensified its demand for recognition of its sovereignty over the Canal, climaxing it with riots and demonstrations against the United States in 1958 and 1959. In response President Eisenhower's special emissary to Panama, Deputy Under Secretary of State Livingston Merchant, publicly admitted Panama's "titular sovereignty" over the Zone.

But neither he nor the State Department nor any other Washington agency defined the term nor suggested that it meant only residual sovereignty. To Panamanians this undefined titular sovereignty meant full sovereignty, and they demanded, as a symbol of their sovereignty, the right to fly their flag in the Zone. To this demand Eisenhower capitulated.

Meanwhile the House of Representatives had adopted a resolution by a vote of 382 to 12 on February 2, 1960, denying Panama's claim to fly its flag in the Canal Zone. Congress had also stipulated that no federal monies should be used for this purpose. When the governor of the Canal Zone received an order from Washington to hoist the Panamanian flag in the Zone he asked the State Department if he should charge the expense to its budget. Not at all, replied the State Department, for Congress had forbidden the use of any federal appropriation for this purpose. He addressed the same inquiry to the Department of Defense and received the same answer.

Whereupon President Eisenhower, in defiance of Congress and the law, provided the money from official White House funds.

Panama's flag was therefore raised next to that of the United States at Shaler Triangle in the Zone on the instruction and at the official expense of President Eisenhower. The conception of Panama's mere titular sovereignty was abandoned. Henceforth Panama could claim full sovereignty, and she possessed a strong legal claim that the clause in the treaty of 1903 which entirely excluded her from the exercise of any sovereign rights, power, or authority in the Zone had been made a dead letter.

Panama's Flags Fly

By this action the Eisenhower Administration unlocked the flood gates in Panama. Panama, now being acknowledged to be sovereign over the Zone, demanded other attributes of sovereignty, including the right to have her own postage stamps used in the Zone and to have her flag flown alongside the United States flag wherever the latter was flown in the Zone by civilian authorities. During 1963 President Kennedy agreed that the United States and the Panamanian flags should be flown together at seventeen sites in the Zone. The new governor of the Canal Zone predicted anxiously to intimates that this decision would lead to trouble, but he undertook to carry out his orders.

In an attempt to comply both with Kennedy's orders and with the Panamanian demand that Panama's flag should fly alongside the United States flag wherever the latter was flown over civilian installations in the Zone, the governor restricted to seventeen the number of sites where the United States flag could be flown, thus eliminating the flag from the Balboa High School and other sites. But American students at the Balboa High School defied the governor's order and hoisted the flag, bringing on reprisals from Panamanian students and bloody rioting against the United States on January 9, 1964.

Two of the present three treaties have been made public only through the journalistic enterprise of the Chicago *Tribune*. One of these treaties dealing with the existing canal specifically abrogates the treaty of 1903 and acknowledges Panama's sovereignty over the Canal and the "canal area." Already,

Continued on next page

Dr. Dozer, a professor of history at the University of California at Santa Barbara, served for many years in the research and intelligence sections of the State Department. The author of numerous books and magazine articles, he has served as a consultant on Latin American affairs for the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

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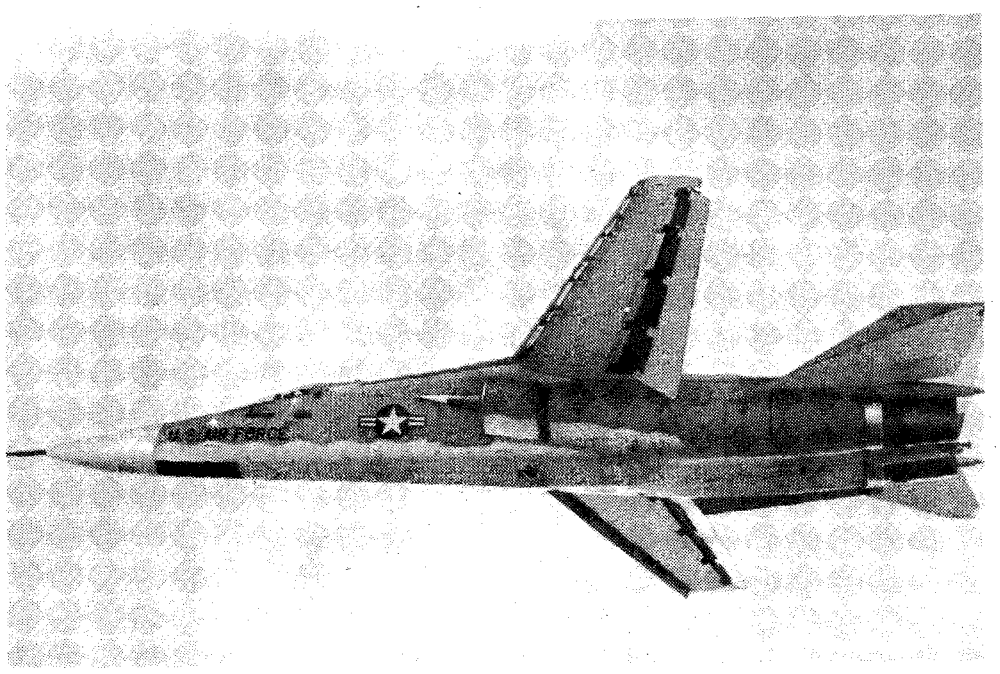

Navy pilots who have test-flown the TFX say it is unsuitable for use on carriers, a main reason it was built in the first place.

TFX: Scandal That Won't Die

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Back in the early days of the Johnson Administration, Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara was the fair-haired boy of Washington. He was the favorite of the President. Congress listened with rapt attention when he promised to bring sound management practices to the Pentagon. His promises of economy and policy streamlining were widely quoted.

Since then, Secretary McNamara has fallen on evil days. His repeated statements that all was going well in Viet Nam, that the boys would be home by Christmas (1963, that is), and his way of suppressing information and double-talking his legislative questioners—these have made him one of the more unpopular men on Capitol Hill. If the three Stennis Committee reports are ever published, McNamara will be hard put to explain the dangerous shortages in arms and other military materiel that have resulted from his handling of the defense establishment.

At present, Mr. McNamara and Sen. John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) are at sword's point over the release of testimony about the TFX, one of Mr. McNamara's pet projects—and one of the larger disasters of his tenure as defense secretary. It will be recalled that Mr. McNamara gave the contract for the swing-wing fighter-bomber to General Dynamics of Texas, even though many of his military advisers argued that a Boeing version of the plane would cost less and be a better plane.

Mr. McNamara, of course, had his way. The TFX has been flight-tested, both in its now designated Army F-111A and Navy F-111B versions. It is a plane that no one really wants, either in the Army or Navy. It was to cost $2.9 million, but the bill has sadly gone up to a unit cost of $8 million. And the Navy, which had planned to use the TFX as a carrier-based fighter-bomber, is now planning to substitute another plane for this purpose—with Mr. McNamara's "Flying Edsel" as an auxiliary.

This decision, according to the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral David L. McDonald, "eased the minds of a lot of people"—namely those men who command and fly the Navy's planes. In fact, the men who have flown the TFX describe its performances as "marginal" —which is hardly reassuring.

The TFX is heavier than it was supposed to be. It does not accelerate as rapidly as the contract called for. Its maneuverability makes it a sitting duck for fighter planes in a dogfight. In fact, Navy test pilots, in their formal but unreleased report, stated flatly: "The F-111B (Navy version) remains unfit for service use as previously reported and was found to be incapable of carrier-based operations."

These pilots spelled out 100 deficiencies in the plane where correction was mandatory and 15 other deficiencies which they would have liked to see eliminated. The Navy Air Systems Command has said that 23 of those 100 deficiencies would be difficult, if not impossible, to correct. In test flights, moreover, the engines of the TFX have partially stalled. Changes in design to prevent this would further slow down the plane.

Sen. McClellan, who has followed the course of the TFX fiasco, is pressing for a full public report on the plane. He wants Mr. McNamara to prove conclusively to the Senate Armed Services Committee that the TFX is worth the $287 additional millions that the Secretary of Defense wants to pour into its production. And the committee sides with Sen. McClellan. Though the TFX program is already two years behind schedule, the committee has recommended that only six planes be purchased. Mr. McNamara is pressing for 20 planes. The Senate recommendation, as seconded by the House, will prevent Mr. McNamara from acquiring any more planes until he has conclusively demonstrated that the TFX can be carrier-based.

Among Pentagon - watchers, the question remains: Why does Robert Strange McNamara persist in demanding a plane which has been rejected by the men who must fly it? At this point, good sense would dictate that the Defense Department cut its losses.

Even better sense would urge that the Secretary and his "whiz-kid" advisers pay some heed to the advice of career officers and civilians rather than resort to the petulant tactics which have characterized Mr. McNamara's relations with the military.

But Secretary McNamara decided a long time ago that he was a law unto himself and that Congress must be disciplined into accepting his judgment and dictates as infallible. The TFX is but one example of this. His juggling of the figures on aircraft losses in Viet Nam is also indicative of his attitude towards the Congress and the people. That he seems to retain President Johnson's respect and admiration, even though he increasingly becomes a political liability, is one of the mysteries of Washington.

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Continued from Page 6

Will Senate Save Panama Canal?

even before the treaties are signed, Panamanians are complaining that the provision for joint administration of the canal by a commission of nine, five to be appointed by the President of the United States and four by the President of Panama, violates Panamanian sovereignty.

Not satisfied with sharing the management of the canal they are demanding nationalization of both the canal and the entire canal area. Since President Johnson has already recognized Panama's sovereignty over the Zone the legislature of Panama can obviously nationalize the canal as a domestic matter.

If the present treaties are approved by the United States Senate and are ratified by the President, nothing can prevent the Panamanian flag from being flown everywhere in the canal area in place of the United States flag. And, still more significantly, the armed forces of the United States, which have long been centered in Panama as the headquarters of the Southern Command for the defense of the United States, the Panama Canal, and the Western Hemisphere, will function hereafter only at the sufferance of whatever government happens to be in power in Panama.

Indeed, the second treaty, dealing with the defense of the canal, provides in Article III that the flag of Panama shall fly above the United States defense installations in the canal area. Rumors are rife that the United States may soon be obliged to transfer the headquarters of its Southern Command to Puerto Rico.

The current treaties, if ratified, will represent another major disaster in America's tragic retreat from the defense of freedom. Their ratification will be a major geopolitical defeat for the United States. Who are the architects of defeat in Washington? Are we not entitled to expect that at least thirty-four patriotic senators—the minimum required to defeat the treaties in the Senate—will stand up and defend the position of the United States in the Canal Zone by voting not to ratify them and, in view of the recent loss of the Suez Canal, will save us from the loss of another essential ocean lifeline of the shrinking free world?

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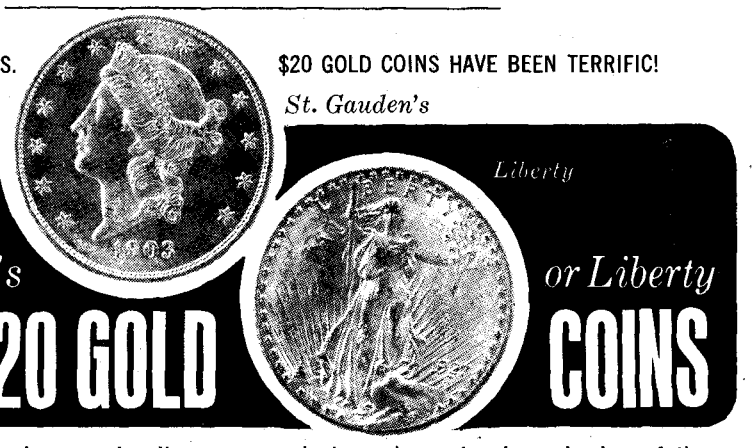

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Is TV Looking at Russia Through Red-Colored Glasses?

...ficult for documentaries to see the ... the USSR

By NEIL HICKEY and SUSAN LUDEL

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In the Cold War thaw that began with the death of Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin, American television networks were emboldened to fashion full-fledged TV documentaries on life inside the Soviet Union, filmed on the spot, and bring to U.S. audiences for the first time some sense of day-to-day existence in that vast and mysterious country.

The first of these was ABC's "Meet Comrade Student" in 1962, followed by such others as "The Soviet Woman," "Discovery Goes to Moscow," "Ivan Ivanovich" and "Moscow's Young Americans," all from ABC; CBS's "The Volga"; and NBC's "The Kremlin," "Siberia: A Day in Irkutsk," "Leningrad" and "The Russian Sports Revolution."

The question has always been, however: Just how accurate a picture of Russia do we get from these programs? Can a documentarian—given the rather severe restrictions placed on his actions by the Soviet government—convey a valid picture of what really is going on in the Soviet Union?

Privately, the answer from many TV film makers who have tried is a resounding "No!" Publicly, network brass simply decline to discuss the subject at all. One network vice president told *TV Guide*: "We do not allow intervention. There is no self-censorship. We don't produce censored documentaries."

Not true. That executive was either underinformed or prevaricating. For years the network documentarists actually involved in production of these programs have been gritting their teeth and making the best of an extraordinarily bad situation—then refraining from airing in public their sometimes bitter complaints on the subject so as not to jeopardize the continued presence of ABC's, CBS's and NBC's news bureaus inside the Soviet Union; and also, to avoid casting a pall of suspicion and compromise on their own handiwork.

Objective Programs?

Historian Robert Payne ("Red Storm over Asia," "The Image of Chekhov") told *TV Guide* flatly, "American TV documentaries are not presenting a true picture of the Soviet Union. They are deliberately going out of their way to glamorize—showing treasures in the Kremlin, palaces in Leningrad—while not acknowledging the fact that slave camps exist." Almost every disinterested Russian expert agrees that TV films are—almost without exception—presenting a distorted picture of the Soviet Union.

A distinguished New York University professor and Kremlinologist declined to speak on-the-record but told *TV Guide:* "It's been my impression that television documentaries on Russia are travelogues—'Come and visit the Soviet Union!'—that sort of thing. Why? Because the networks haven't gotten permission to hit the targets they'd like to hit.

"They're passing off these programs as objective reporting in order to scoop each other, to build ratings to get concessions from the Russian government: concessions like being allowed to film the Hermitage or some jewels which

CBS NEWS

A CBS cameraman films part of "The Volga".

Westerners haven't seen before. The public thinks they're getting a true picture of life in the Soviet Union, but they're not."

Here's what some of the TV people themselves say about the problem:

• NBC producer Donald Hyatt (*Project 20*): "In going to the Soviet Union one must face the problem that one won't come away with anything too revealing in terms of the country's negative aspects. I wouldn't want to work under such conditions unless I could play their game and still come out with what I wanted. It's a dangerous game. The danger is that you'll come away with what *they* want you to have. I'm not saying it's impossible to do a show in the Soviet Union. But the onus is on you, and you have two strikes against you before you begin."

• CBS correspondent Marvin Kalb (formerly CBS's man in Moscow; writer and narrator of "The Volga"): "It is practically impossible to do an honest show on the Soviet Union. They take you where they want you to go. They literally point the cameras for you. They want you to present the most pleasant, idealized picture of Russia. It's a major problem. I don't know what can be done about it."

• NBC producer George Vicas ("The Kremlin," "Siberia: A Day in Irkutsk," "Leningrad"): "It's been my experience that Kalb is right when he says it's almost impossible to do an honest show from Russia. But I don't think it's a question of honest versus dishonest; it's a matter of profound versus superficial. What we *can* do is superficial. The political area is more difficult. And practically everything is political, according to the Russian dialectic."

• National Educational Television vice president for programming William Kobin: "It's a fact of life that one can't do critical programs inside the Soviet Union. Usually the subjects treated are uncontroversial, so the result is uncontroversial. You can't do an objective study in the political, economic, or social area."

• ABC producer John Secondari ("Meet Comrade Student"): "Any work in a controlled society is by definition a limited assignment. You would have to be a dreamer not to think that [your efforts] would be limited in a society like the USSR. But there can be valid reasons for doing limited assignments."

• Stuart Novins, former CBS Moscow correspondent: "Self-censorship is a danger. I went into the Soviet Union knowing there are two ways to play the game. I could become the most popular kid in town, doing things that pleased the Russians, or I could do objective reporting, call it as I saw it, and brace myself for the consequences. If you get thrown out, you get thrown out."

In several hours of courageous though anonymous candor, one network producer of documentaries on Russia told *TV Guide*: "I confirm Marvin Kalb's statement that it is virtually impossible to tell the truth about the Soviet Union on film. The people who say it is [possible] are not telling the truth.

"I don't want to talk for publication. If I did, my network could be closed off forever from doing documentaries in Russia. There's no real trick to doing shows there if you want to cooperate with them. Spoonfeeding is the order of the day. But I fail to see what you accomplish by accepting spoonfeeding."

The same producer was critical of such programs as "Siberia: A Day in Irkutsk" and "Ivan Ivanovitch." "Vicas [producer of "Siberia"] ought to be made a member of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce. That show on Siberia was ridiculous—great propaganda for the Russians. And it's preposterous that the family in 'Ivan' is average. I wouldn't be surprised if the Soviet Union put the family in that apartment, painted it before the TV crew arrived, then sent the family back where they came from when the filming was over."

One steelworker family, according to this informant, has been trotted out by the Russians again and again, whenever a TV crew from the United States or a West European country asks to see a "typical" Russian family.

Newsmen Expelled

Each of the networks, at various times, has had its Moscow correspondent expelled from Russia: After "The Death of Stalin" and "The Rise of Khrushchev" in 1963, NBC's Moscow bureau was shut down by the Russians for two years; seven months after "The Volga" was aired, CBS's Moscow man departed Russia and the network was without a correspondent there for eight months. (CBS diplomatically denies any connection between the two, but the cause-effect is widely accepted in the industry.) Soviet officials expelled ABC's Moscow bureau chief in September 1965, but for reasons not connected with any TV documentary.

ABC's and NBC's credit rating with the Russians is higher than that of CBS's, a situation directly attributable to the Soviets' long-standing dismay over "The Volga," as well as to the harmless and roseate character of such ABC and NBC programs as "The Soviet Woman," "Discovery Goes to Moscow," "Ivan Ivanovitch," "Siberia" and "Leningrad." (*Daily Variety's* reviewer said of "Ivan": "Propaganda is the Soviet weapon at winning world respect for the welfare of its people—vastly unlike our own dox [documentaries] showing the slum ghettos. We've been tricked again.")

Mindful of such criticism, ABC's vice president and director of documentaries, Thomas Wolf, told *TV Guide* "I think

CBS NEWS

CBS correspondent Marvin Kalb wrote and narrated "The Volga," which was produced after long Soviet delays.

['Ivan'] was an accurate representation of how a Scarsdale-Russian family lives. If you go to slums behind the capitol in Washington, you find a life which isn't representative of America.

"The worst side of Russia, the side of poverty, likewise isn't representative of Russian life. We showed an accurate reflection of Soviet upper-middle life. We made it clear we were dealing with an upper-middle Russian."

Wolf adds: "Kalb is wrong when he says that the Russians point your cameras for you. To the degree that they chose the family we used [in "Ivan"], they were favorably presenting their image. In that respect Kalb

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is right. But facts can be a subjective thing. Isn't it a fact that the Russians are living better than they did before the revolution? Also, isn't it a fact that many Russians are living closer to American standards of physical comfort? . . .

"I think that what we photographed is an accurate picture. I'm not making Russia into a land of milk and honey, and I'm not saying that communism is a desirable system. I'm saying that millions of Russians live in situations that are more desirable that most Americans think."

For its Volga program, CBS came in for a different brand of criticism: a double-barreled blast from the Russians, as well as from newsmen at the other two networks.

Marvin Kalb first began thinking about program on the 2,300-mile-long Volga n 1960 when he became CBS Moscow correspondent. "I asked to do the Volga because it's called Mother Volga by the Russians. It's the heartland of the nation. It's not Moscow. It's not a tourist trap. I wanted to give the American people an honest, real picture."

He asked permission to visit 10 cities along the Volga; five years later he got the go-ahead to visit four. Kalb proceeded to film his story along the Volga, accepting reluctantly the restrictions placed upon his movements by his Russian overseers. (On one occasion, however, while his "guides" were napping, he filmed a tiny farm village on the Volga's banks—footage which suggested some of the primitivism of rural Russia.)

When the pictures were in the can, Kalb sat down and wrote what amounted to a rebuttal of his program's video portion — a trenchant narration which characterized Lenin as "part Boy Scout, part politician and part god," which scolded the Soviet Union for suffering social backwardness in its countryside while flinging expensive space hardware into orbit, which claimed that Russian youths grow into dull and faceless elements in a vast and impersonal bureaucracy.

The New York *Times* reviewer speculated that Kalb's commentary "must . . . have jolted the hierarchy of Intourist; it was tough and incisive."

The Russians were indeed furious. After viewing a prebroadcast screening of the film, they hurriedly dispatched an official of the Soviet Embassy and a member of the Soviet State Commission on Radio and Television to the office of Fred Friendly, then president of CBS News. They asked that the program be postponed until Russian objections to it were dissolved. Friendly refused.

Red Harassment

The program went on as scheduled. Seven months later, Hughes Rudd, CBS Moscow correspondent, left Russia, and the CBS bureau there was untended for eight months, until the Soviets granted accreditation to a successor last April.

The point was not lost either on CBS or its fellow networks: Either play the game or stay out of the ball park, the Soviets were saying.

Many newsmen at NBC and ABC (and a few at CBS) felt strongly that Kalb was queering the deal for everybody, and that the Russians would be less willing in the future to allow any American TV units inside their borders. One NBC newsman vented his feelings to a *TV Guide* reporter: "I completely agree with the Russians about 'The Volga.' Kalb was spiteful, nasty and biased; the Russians were very upset about it. I talked to some CBS people about this, and they agree with me."

Three years earlier, NBC had trouble of its own with the Soviets over "The Kremlin," although the George Vicas production was altogether apolitical and amounted, in fact, to a full-color valentine to glories of the Russian past. The Soviet TV officials complained about two obscure historical points in the narration, and asked that alterations be made. NBC rejected the suggestion and aired the program. The Russians might have expelled NBC's Moscow man for this infraction, except that he already had been expelled for the earlier NBC programs on Stalin and Khrushchev.

Viet Nam Issue

Last year the Soviets suddenly withdrew permission for three documentaries which American networks were already at work on in the Soviet Union: CBS's proposed program on the Bolshevik Revolution's 50th anniversary, and another which would feature Soviet and American musical performers; and NBC's live television coverage of the Tchaikovsky International Music Competition. Reason for the about-face, according to the Russians, was the worsening political tension between the two nations growing out of the Viet Nam war.

Then last July 11 the Soviets "postponed" for a year a program on Soviet prisons which NBC already was at work

CBS NEWS

The Russians like publicizing what affluence they have, like these bathhouses.

on inside Russia; it was a gesture of reprisal over NBC's airing of its bootlegged home movie "Khrushchev in Exile —His Opinions and Revelations," which was produced without the normal Soviet permissions and of which the Soviet hierarchy did not approve. NBC newsmen had strongly suspected that such a reprisal would occur if they aired the Khrushchev program, but their best news instincts prevailed and they broadcast it anyway. They lost the gamble.

It all seemed to confirm that getting the facts out of Russia, via television at least, is a formidable, exacting and—at times—impossible task.

Move Under Way to Strengthen the SACB

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The Subversive Activities Control Board, or what little remains of it, occupies a pleasant suite on Vermont Ave. in Washington, D.C. From the spacious windows of their paneled offices, the board members can catch a nice glimpse of Lafayette Square. It is about all they have to look at.

Created by Congress in 1950, the board today is just about defunct. In the 17 years of its precarious existence, the agency has dealt with only 68 proceedings. Its orders languish unobeyed. The last petition it received from the attorney general, directed against the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, was filed in March of 1966. The board has not conducted an evidentiary hearing in more than two years.

As the workload has declined from nil to nothing, the staff has dwindled sadly. Once the board had two hearing examiners; now it has none. Thirteen employes have been riffed, as the saying goes, in the past two years. Apart from the five board members, each of them drawing $26,000 a year, only nine employees remain. They rattle around in the empty offices, contemplating the puzzles of 21-down and 14-across, and praying that Congress will bring the agency back to life.

Bills now pending in the House and Senate would have that effect. The House Committee on Un-American Activities scheduled hearings last week on one of these measures, sponsored jointly by 25 Democrats and 25 Republicans. Peering through the smoke of this summer's riots, one perceives a strong probability that the bill will pass.

In my own view, the bill ought to pass. Given a workable law, with a reasonable prospect of surviving court attack, the Subversive Activities Control Board is capable of performing a useful job. Here and there in the country, one may encounter a few children who doubt the existence of an internal Communist conspiracy. Grown men know better. In his just-published book, *Road to Revolution,* former Communist Phillip Abbott Luce has provided chilling documentation of a danger that is real and not imagined.

Under existing law, the SACB is helpless to cope with the danger. The 1950 act was based on a scheme of registration. The board was to receive petitions from the attorney general, asking that organizations and individuals be tagged as Communist; if so, they were to register as such. But in a series of decisions, dragged out over 17 years, the courts now have declared the registration requirement void.

In place of this requirement, the pending bills contemplate a new procedure. The board could not order anyone to do anything. It could only hear evidence and come to "determinations." If the board determined that an organization was a Communist front, or so deeply infiltrated that it was under Communist control, the board would issue a pronouncement to that effect. The stigmatized organization thereafter would have to indentify its propaganda, in the fashion of foreign agents, with a notation of the SACB's finding.

There is reason to believe this scaled-down procedure might win approval from the U.S. Supreme Court. In its 5-to-4 decision of 1961, suspending the registration plan, the Court seemed to agree that once the objection of self-incrimination was removed, a federal disclosure law might well be upheld.

Under a bill sponsored by Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) the SACB would be able to place sanctions on members of Communist groups.

The bill discussed by columnist Kilpatrick received a big boost last week when it was approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee, 11 to 2. Only committee members Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.) and Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) voted against the measure. On the House side, the Committee on Un-American Activities has begun hearings on a similar bill.

Such an approach likely would command strong support in Congress. Sen. Everett Dirksen last month made it clear that he would not stand by quietly "and see the board shoved into limbo." Veterans' groups are clamoring for the board's continued existence. The general feeling on the Hill is to abolish the SACB or give it something to do. Every Molotov cocktail contributes to the board's rising prospect for survival.

As a general proposition, conservatives and liberals alike are opposed to government meddling in private organizations. Such a complaint has no relevance here. These Communist fronts are not private organizations. They are the troublemaking hands and arms of the international Communist apparatus. A Congress dedicated to truth-in-labeling should not hesitate in giving the SACB new power to pin on some labels where the people can see them.

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HATCH ACT VIOLATION—During the 1964 campaign a Concord, N.H., postal clerk, Robert Hobar, distributed Blatantly anti-Republican political propaganada. Hobart, who doubles as secretary-treasurer of the state AFL-CIO, was suspended by the U.S. Civil Service Commission for 30 days for violating the Hatch Act. When the AFL-CIO went into court to protest the CSC action, the Justice Department failed to defend the suspension in any way and Hobart was awarded $674.62 in back pay.

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New Project by Dr. Matthew

Where Hope Struggles in the Slums

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

It's hard to think back through the mists of time, which may play tricks with memory. Nevertheless, someone should try to compare the slums—and the slum dwellers—of yesteryear with those of the present, if only to get some perspective on the claim of the extremists that riots and arson are justified today where there was no need for them a generation ago.

One has to go through old literature to find out how the "other half" lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Things weren't good then, as one can discover by reading such autobiographies as the one written by the socialist lawyer and political leader, Morris Hillquit. But if the East Side streets in the New York of Hillquit's day were a disgrace, there was hope in hearts and minds. Hillquit's memories of the soaring discussions that took place far above the street level on "the roofs of Cherry Street" differ from what is being done today on the roof tops, where like as not snipers are busy studying the lay of the land in preparation for the next riot.

The difference between past and present is a state of mind. Self-help is out; the cultivation of demonstrations designed to extort something comparable to ransom from Congress is in. We would not be against paying the ransom if we thought it would work. But nobody can make a way of life forever on exacting retribution from a community because of what happened to one's ancestors. Retribution money turns out to be fools' gold; it vanishes and leaves no shills, no muscles, no mother-wit, to carry people on.

Here and there enlightenment is at work in the slums to get off the dead-end give-us-retribution kick. This column has written about the Management Council for Merit Employment Training and Research in the Watts area of Los Angeles which has found jobs for thousands. It has said something from time to time about Cleo Blackburn's adventure in the cultivation of "sweat equity" in Indianapolis, where slum dwellers have worked together to rebuild a whole area. And it has had a lot to say about the work of the Negro neurosurgeon Dr. Thomas Matthew of the New York City borough of Queens, who has built a hospital and branched out into a number of endeavors which give employment to slum dwellers who were close to losing hope.

The latest Matthew adventure—and the ingenious doctor seems to come up with a new one every month or two—is about

Dr. Thomas Matthew of New York has begun rehabilitating slum apartments with new features to help the residents.

to get under way in the slum area of the South Bronx in New York. There, on Fox Street, Dr. Matthew's Negro-operated Spartacus Construction Company will shortly go to work rehabilitating two six-story walk-up buildings which now have 116 apartments, eighty-eight of which are empty because not even the lowest dregs have wanted them. The buildings have the hopeless look of poverty anywhere, but they are basically sound. Dr. Matthew's Spartacus workers will cut the 116 apartments down to one hundred, and when the conversion work is through there will be room for large families running up to a total of 600 people.

But won't it be just another slum when the reconstruction is a few years in the past? No, says Dr. Matthew. For the Bronx adventure is to combine several new features. There will be a family day care center on the premises. There will be a health clinic, a resident social service worker, and a dietary consultant to assist with the planning of meals and the management of food budgets. The backyard of the two apartments will be converted into a playground. And, finally, Dr. Matthew promises a job to every family, either in his construction company, or in his hospital and its several related services.

Dr. Matthew says he can carry off his slum rehabilitation venture because (a) he got the apartments on a miniscule down payment basis from a discouraged landlord who was tired of losing money and (b) he needs only 9 per cent profit on his rents, six-and-a-half per cent for the amortization and the rest for administration. The doctor claims this could be done all over New York City's slum areas if only a few enterprising people would stop waiting for Washington ransom money and get busy on their own.

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McNAMARA's DEFERRAL—*Aviation Daily*, a reliable trade publication, reports that Defense Secretary Robert McNamara is deferring some $1 billion in aircraft purchases in an apparent "political move to make the military budget more palatable." According to the article, the Air Force will cancel the purchase of 100 A-7Ds and 245 F-4Es which it had requested and which have been authorized and funded by Congress. In addition, the Pentagon will also reportedly sharply curtail its procurement of RF-4Cs, A-37s, and Minuteman missiles. Rep. Charles Gubser (R.-Calif.) is shocked. "I have not been critical of the Administration's policy in Viet Nam," he said, "but I cannot remain silent when vitally needed aircraft are canceled while domestic squandering and waste continue."

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NEW WIND-UP DOLL—Have you heard about the Kosygin doll? You wind it up and it leads the LBJ doll down the garden path.

At Least for This Session

Congress Has Killed National Data Bank

By WILLARD EDWARDS

American citizens have been saved for at least another year from an Orwellian nightmare—a massive, computerized invasion of their privacy.

Congress, exercising that "go-slow, take-it-easy, hold-off-and-take-another-look" approach bitterly lamented by Vice President Humphrey, has killed, for this session, the Johnson Administration's plan for a national data center.

If authorized, this project would set up computers of monster size in a Washington headquarters. At the push of a button, they would spew out intimate data from personal dossiers on every individual in the land.

The system would be in operation today if the White House, the Budget Bureau, and the Census Bureau, its major sponsors, had their way. The program has been strongly pushed for two years.

A House committee looked it over last year and early this year and rejected it. A Senate judiciary subcommittee, headed by Sen. Edward V. Long (D.-Mo.), after hearings and an assessment of the plan's dangers, has just put it back on the shelf. Long also demanded and secured a pledge from the Administration that it would not attempt to go ahead without congressional approval.

Government sponsors scoffed at critics who glimpsed in the program a basis for the "big brother" government visualized by George Orwell in *1984*. They did not deny that the system obviously contained the ingredients for absolute political power.

There would be adequate "safeguards," they promised, against improper use of the enormous amounts of personal data gathered for many years by 21 federal agencies in their dealings with citizens. The subcommittee remained unconvinced that any government group could be trusted with such material, concentrated in one place for instant consultation.

The extent of government files on individuals is almost beyond comprehension. Nobody knows how many individuals are listed because the files are scattered. There are many duplications, but 2.8 billion names are listed.

The man whose name is not inscribed on some file simply does not exist. The personal dossier begins with a birth certificate, hospital records, and builds up with school records on grades and attendance and IQ tests. The young adult gets a Social Security card, a Selective Service card, a military record, a driver's license, a marriage license, and an employment record. If he gets in trouble, there's a police record.

He supplies information about himself to get a job or an insurance policy or to obtain credit for installment purchases. Credit bureau files alone contain the personal and financial background, usually of both husband and wife, of 110 million individuals. Farmers and businessmen supply countless reports to federal agencies.

The government's thirst for information, as it collects taxes or doles out benefits or regulates behavior, has led to the gathering of data of a highly personal nature. Some of it, gathered from unfriendly sources, may be derogatory. The magic of the computer, prosessing masses of data at speeds measured in billionths of a second, would be used to store all this information in one "data bank," open to any government official.

Sen. Edward Long (D.-Mo.) has been a leader in pointing out the dangers of government invasion of privacy.

Any error, transmitted to computer, is difficult to correct, as a growing number of frustrated customers have discovered in their encounters with computerized bookkeeping. What happens to a citizen, mistakenly identified by the "machine" as an associate of criminals or mentally unbalanced or a bad credit risk? How does he set the record straight?

Congress is ready to agree that the computer age is approaching. But it is not quite ready to approve a system with a virtually unlimited potential for evil in the hands of unscrupulous men.

(Chicago *Tribune* Press Service)

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Back in 1963, radical Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray (left) was worried about rats.

Of Mice and Men

By MORRIE RYSKIND

It is disconcerting to find your opponents gifted with ESP. Recently I took cognizance of the new sociological findings that rat-bites caused our recent riots, but that piece was still in transit to the papers and had not yet seen print when this note came:

". . . You will doubtless join in the heartless laughter of the congressmen who refused to vote $40 million for rat extermination. How could you, in your Beverly Hills mansion, know about rats? But if you lived in the slums of Watts, it would be no joking matter. . . ."

Well, in the first place, dear lady, I dwell in the disadvantaged section of Beverly Hills. The castles with the moats and the liveried footmen and such don't begin until the 800 block. I'm in the 600 block, which is barely above the ghetto.

And, secondly, go wash your mouth for calling Watts a slum. If you saw the pictures of the Watts Festival in the papers or on TV, you must realize that this section of Los Angeles, dotted with well-kept lawns, is anything but. Indeed, to some white denizens of Appalachia, it must have looked like Utopia.

And, thirdly, as one born in a teeming Manhattan tenement, I learned about rats the hard way, and will take no guff on the subject from you or anyone else.

New York, according to government figures—though I often wonder how that census was taken—has presently as many rats as people. One man, one rat, as the Supreme Court might phrase it in this era of fair shares.

My guess is that the same ratio prevailed in my childhood. At any rate, it produced a constant guerrilla warfare in which neither side ever granted an armistice. Christmas or Rosh Hashonah, the battle went on.

But with cats and mousetraps and, above all, the fierce pride of the immigrant mothers in keeping their households clean, we managed to hold the enemy off. There were no automatic dishwashers then; but no matter how late "company" left or how early the hausfrau would have to rise, she would not go to bed till she had tidied up the kitchen. That was self-preservation.

The really tough times came when the city made excavations—for sewers, subways and such—in your immediate area. Then, whether you lived on Grand Street or Park Avenue, you prepared for the siege. For the rats, driven out of their subterranean nests, would invade the neighboring cellars, whether the district was rich or poor. They had a point, I suppose, since their families had lived in New York far longer than the rest of us.

Trade picked up, for the number of mousetraps normally sold was tripled and there was a big demand for something called "Rough on Rats." The city authorities helped out, too, by setting huge traps at critical places. The latter often landed some rodents big enough to get their pictures in the paper—but you should have seen the ones that got away.

But no one ever dreamed of calling on Washington for help. We figured our local rats were strictly a local problem, and that Washington had enough to do.

Los Angeles County still acts on that naive theory, and I must say our local authorities do a fairly good job. Small wonder Mayor Yorty was puzzled by Nelson Rockefeller's plea to send the Marines in to aid New York.

We have rats in Beverly Hills, to be sure, just as we have in Watts. Beverly is an independent city, but it pays county taxes and the same Health Department looks after the rats of both areas.

Here are the official figures—they were made public at a City Council meeting recently—of the number of rat-bites reported in both communities last year: Beverly Hills, one; Watts—with a far bigger population—one. Even Steven.

Not bad for a ghetto, "slum" district like Watts. But don't, dear critic, let the facts interfere with your prejudices.

(Copyright 1967, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

Coming: New Food Price Rise

By WALTER TROHAN

Substantial food price increases are in store for consumers, even though farm prices are lower than they were a year ago and chain store profits are also down. Democrats fear that higher prices will cost them votes along with higher taxes, riots and the war in Viet Nam.

Labor deveoopments on the West Coast are ominous as far as housewives are concerned. Contracts which supermarkets have signed in northern California have made food prices in that area the highest in the country. The labor negotiations are being eyed apprehensively across the country.

The Teamster's Union, working in concert with the Retail Clerks Union, got a package increase of about 72 cents an hour. The Teamsters are now seeking a $3-an-hour increase in southern California. They are asking a wage hike of $1.35, plus 98 cents an hour in other wage benefits, 97 cents an hour in fringe benefits, and a 35-hour workweek instead of 40 hours. Robert K. Fox, president of the Food Employers Council, has termed the demands "absolutely fantastic."

The union demands mean that warehouse and transportation costs will go up 66 per cent over present costs, according to Fox. This means a total boost in this field of labor costs of $33 million a year in the food industry. This total will rise as clerks and other labor unions demand more money.

The dairy industry in California recently made a new agreement with an engineers union which included substantial pay raises. As a result, the industry has petitioned the state to authorize an increase of 1.5 cents a quart in the price of milk.

Last year housewives picketed a number of food chain stores in protest of rising prices. The profits of these outlets are low compared with profits in other industries. The National Association of Food Chains reported that profits of its member companies average .0131 cents for each dollar of sales, compared with 5.6 cents per dollar of sales in manufacturing.

Wages in the food processing and retailing industry are rising rapidly. They went up 4 per cent from 1965 to 1966. The increase this year will be as much or greater. Wage settlements in all the major industries have snapped the former guidelines.

The wage increase in the rubber industry was 100 per cent over the 3.5 per cent guideline. United Auto Workers expects a sizable increase, as do other unions. All this raises the cost of living, including costs of food.

Meanwhile, the farmer's share of the food dollar is dropping steadily. It is expected that the 1967 net income of farmers will drop at least $2 billion below that of 1966. About 20 years ago the farmer's share of the food dollar was approximately 45 cents. In 1967 it is expected to drop to 32 cents, almost a third less than it was two decades ago.

If housewives protest the rising prices, they will probably picket chain stores and blame farmers. The real culprits in the rising tide of prices—the union leaders who make and enforce demands for higher wages—will probably go unscathed and even unnoticed.

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by Antoni E. Gollan, TV Editorial Director, formerly of HUMAN EVENTS
Introduction by M. Stanton Evans, Editor, INDIANAPOLIS NEWS

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Hopes to Bolster Program in Congress

LBJ Plans Series of Radio-TV Reports to the Nation

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is planning to deliver a series of fireside TV-radio chats to the nation.

Scheduled to begin before Labor Day, the broadcasts from the White House will be used to rally public support for the administration's stalled domestic legislative program for the cities and its beleaguered Viet Nam war strategy.

The President, taking a page from the political notebook of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, is counting on these personal pep talks to bolster his sagging popularity, now at an all-time low according to the latest national polls.

Details of these and other future political plans of the President were made known this week to Democratic congressional leaders when they appealed to the White House for help to get the administration's legislative program "moving again" in Congress.

President Johnson, copying his "hero," is going to try the "fireside chat" approach made famous by FDR.

In their frank backstage discussions, the House and Senate leaders prodded the President into action by telling him that his program and, in particular, his call for more taxes, will need all the support he can personally muster to pass Congress at this session.

Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.), reported that the climate in Congress has, if anything, hardened against "Great Society" programs in the wake of racial riots. If there is to be action, he warned, it will require personal leadership by the President. Other Democratic leaders stressed this need, pointing out that Vice President Humphrey, assigned to push the administration's legislative proposals, had temporarily at least, rendered himself useless on Capitol Hill by his public criticism of Congress.

Taking his cue from the lawmakers' comments, the President responded:

"My recent Baltimore speech, asking for more stress on the positive things being done in this nation, brought a good public response. I believe if this approach is used in a series of nationally televised talks from the White House that we can rally the great majority of the people behind our programs both at home and abroad."

In response to one caution against such TV talks being construed as "an attack on Congress," the President responded with an appropriate gesture, "I'll just prod Congress a bit. I won't attack you gentlemen. There are enough problems facing me."

President Johnson, who sees himself as an "action President," has been visually stung in recent days by critics who have charged he has not done enough in response to the riots or in Viet Nam.

Note: A private study being examined by the President reveals that 94 per cent of homes in the U.S. have one or more television sets. In the key political states of Michigan, Ohio and New Jersey, the figure is 97 per cent.

* * *

Visitors report that former President Eisenhower is taking a much more active interest in the selection of next year's Republican candidates than he did three years ago.

Instead of remaining aloof as in 1964, the former President is letting it be known he will endorse one candidate before the GOP national convention delegates convene in Miami a year from now.

While not closing the door to other candidates, Eisenhower at present is boosting former Vice President Nixon and Michigan's Gov. Romney. His callers also are saying Eisenhower believes both California's Gov. Ronald Reagan and Illinois' Senator Charles Percy should pass up 1968—and wait four more years to run.

In discussing Nixon, Eisenhower tells his visitors he feels his former vice president is by far the best qualified of all the potential candidates. But, like other Republican leaders, Eisenhower stresses Nixon must win primaries to prove that he has the necessary vote-getting appeal.

As for Gov. Romney, the former President points out he was one of those who encouraged the Michigan governor to go into public life. If he can outclass Nixon in the primaries, Eisenhower indicates Romney would be his choice.

In arguing that Reagan and Percy should wait until 1972, Eisenhower cites their need for more experience on the national level. He told one caller, "Sen. Percy is uninformed on foreign policy or he wouldn't be making those naive statements on Viet Nam."

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Letter Exposes Leftists' Fund-Raising Strategy

National Conference for New Politics needs 'bread' for travel

By ALICE WIDENER

Back of all the revolutionary activity turning part of our nation against itself is a radical leftist united front movement now consolidated into the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP). It was organized in January 1966 in Chicago and will hold a convention there, August 29-September 4, 1967 at Palmer House that will be attended by thousands of leftists of all shades, including officials of the Communist party, U.S.A.

An official "call" to the convention by several members of the NCNP national council defines New Politics as "pressure point politics operating on society's most vulnerable points," and "guerrilla politics" and "revolutionary politics."

Dr. Martin Luther King (left) and pediatrician Benjamin Spock are being pushed by the NCNP for a 1968 "peace" ticket.

The NCNP convention keynoter in Chicago Coliseum, August 31, is scheduled to be Dr. Martin Luther King. A main topic to be decided by the delegates will be creation of a third political party to run Dr. King and Dr. Benjamin Spock for President and Vice President in 1968.

The Communist Party, however, opposes such a race, preferring to keep New Politics at the local and state level, and to infiltrate both the Democratic and Republican Parties with New Politics agitators and local candidates. Since Arnold Johnson of the Communist party conferred in Chicago with top NCNP executives at a steering committee meeting, July 29, 1967, it is probable the coming convention will heed him.

William F. Pepper is executive director of the NCNP whose headquarters are in New York City. Michael Wood is convention coordinator in Chicago. Among members of the NCNP executive board are Stokeley Carmichael, Dick Gregory, Arthur I. Waskow, Martin Peretz and Robert Scheer.

There no longer is any excuse for arguments on Capitol Hill or anywhere else in our country over whether there is a conspiratorial organization in back of the revolutionary and insurrectionary activities that have taken place this summer and will grow much worse in 1968 unless the public wakes up to what is going on and decides to put a stop to it. As evidence, I submit exclusively the following letter from Michael Wood to NCNP's headquarters which refers to a direct mail fund-raising appeal:

"July 6, 1967

"Dear Marie:

"Beg, borrow, or steal, I think 100,000 pieces of this letter—or some modification of it—should go out to the lists which have served us best in the past: ACLU, *National Guardian, Ramparts,* and others. The SANE list, if you can get Naomi Pullman to steal it for us, would also be great!

"Whether or not it goes to our 8,000 is not so important to me. My concern is that we not miss this opportunity 1) to rake in a lot of bread, and 2) to expand our mailing list considerably.

"I may be all wet, but I think this appeal will be very effective: images of a third party representing a vastly expanding movement that grows more militant daily; *the* chance to *get* Johnson—the ugliest, most hated man of our times, the real (in contrast to the surrogates in Congressional races) symbol of the horror of Viet Nam and the ghettoes, and of the general ugliness and sickness of American life; the chance to build again, etc.

"In sequence it should follow the press break and the distribution of the *New Politics News* by at least a week, I should imagine. Bear in mind that 1) the Executive Board mandated this type of letter; 2) that 100 thousand pieces would be great publicity for the Convention; 3) we're going to need the bread badly, especially for travel subsidies for which I made no provision in the last budget.

"Please let me know of the disposition of this matter.

"Fraternally,

"Michael Wood

"Marie Runyan
"National Conference for
New Politics
"250 W. 57th St.
"New York, New York

"MPW/tb"

Fellow Americans: Do you really need any more information than Wood's letter to determine what is back of all the disruption in our nation?

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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Everybody Must Take a Stand

A former light-heavyweight champion tells how he fights juvenile delinquency by teaching dignity

By ARCHIE MOORE in the San Diego *Union*

The devil is at work in America, and it is up to us to drive him out. Snipers and looters, white or black, deserve no mercy. Those who would profit from their brother's misfortunes deserve no mercy, and those who would set fellow Americans upon each other deserve no mercy.

I'll fight the man who calls me an "Uncle Tom." I have broken bread with heads of state, chatted with presidents and traveled all over the world. I was born in a ghetto, but I refused to stay there. I am a Negro, and proud to be one. I am also an American, and I'm proud of that.

The young people of today think they have a hard lot. They should have been around in the '30s when I was coming up in St. Louis. We had no way to go, but a lot of us made it. I became light heavyweight champion of the world. A neighbor kid down the block, Clark Terry, became one of the most famous jazz musicians in the world. There were

Former boxer Archie Moore runs a youth program in San Diego called ABC—Any Boy Can.

doctors, lawyers and chiefs who came out of that ghetto. One of the top policemen in St. Louis came from our neighborhood.

We made it because we had a goal, and we were willing to work for it. Don't talk to me of your "guaranteed national income." Any fool knows that this is insanity. Do we bring those who worked to get ahead down to the level of those who never gave a damn? The world owes NOBODY—black or white—a living. God helps the man who helps himself!

Now then, don't get the idea that I didn't grow up hating the injustices of this world. I am a staunch advocate of the Negro revolution for the good of mankind. I've seen almost unbelievable progress made in the last handful of years. Do we want to become wild beasts bent only on revenge, looting and killing and laying America bare? Hate is bait, bait for the simpleminded.

Sure, I despised the whites who cheated me, but I used that feeling to make me push on. If you listen to the professional rabble-rousers, adhere to this idea of giving up everything you've gained in order to revenge yourself for the wrongs that were done to you in the past—then you'd better watch your neighbor, because he'll be looting your house next. Law and order is the only edge we have. No man is an island.

Granted, the Negro still has a long way to go to gain a fair shake with the white man in this country. But believe this: if we resort to lawlessness, the only thing we can hope for is civil war, untold bloodshed, and the end of our dreams.

We have to have a meeting of qualified men of both races. Mind you, I said qualified men, not some punk kid, ranting the catch phrases put in his mouth by some paid hate-monger. There are forces in the world today, forces bent upon the destruction of America, your America and mine. And while we're on the subject, do you doubt for a minute that communism, world communism, isn't waiting with bated breath for the black and white Americans to turn on each other full force?

Do you want a chance for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the land of your birth, or do you want no chance at all under the Red heel?

There are members of the black community who call for a separate nation within America. Well, I do not intend to give up one square inch of America. I'm not going to be told I must live in a restricted area. Isn't that what we've all been fighting to overcome? And then there is the element that calls for a return to Africa.

For my part, Africa is a great place to visit, but I wouldn't want to live there. If the Irishmen want to go back to the Emerald Isle, let them. If the Slavs want to return to the Iron Curtain area, OK by me. But I'm not giving up my country. I fought all my life to give my children what I'm able to give them today: a chance for development as citizens in the greatest country in the world.

I do not for a moment think that any truly responsible Negro wants anarchy. I don't think you'll find intelligent—no, let's rephrase that—mature Negroes running wild in the streets or sniping at total strangers. God made the white man as well as the black. True, we haven't acted as brothers in the past, but we are brothers. If we're to be so many Cains and Abels, that's our choice. We can't blame God for it.

Something must be done to reach the Negroes and the whites in the ghettos of this country, and I propose to do something.

As a matter of plain fact, I have been doing something for the past several years. I have been running a program which I call the ABC—Any Boy Can. By teaching our youth, black, white, yellow and red, what dignity is, what self respect is, what honor is, I have been able to obliterate juvenile delinquency in several areas.

I would now expand my program, change scope. If any boy can, surely any man can. I want to take teams of qualified people, top men in their fields, to the troubled areas of the cities. I know that the people who participated in the recent riots, who are participating and who will participate, are misguided rather than mad.

If some bigot can misguide, then I can guide. I've spent too much of my life building what I've got to put it to torch just to satisfy some ancient hatred of a man who beat my grandfather. Those men are long dead. Do we have to choke what could be a beautiful garden with weeds of hate? I say NO! And I stand ready to start "Operation Gardener." I invite the respected Negro leaders of our country to join me.

BOOK NOTES

A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers

That we take note of a book here does not necessarily mean we fully endorse it, nor even that it is written from a conservative viewpoint. It means merely that we regard it as one which may have an impact on political thinking, and accordingly may be of interest to our readers.

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RESISTANCE: THE POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GEORGES BIDAULT (Praeger, 348 pages, $6.95).

"The political biography of a former French statesman, a rightist, whose career foundered on the question of Algeria. Georges Bidault was a resistance leader in World War II and President Charles de Gaulle's Minister of Foreign Affairs right after the war. He was in and out of office in the 1950's until he left France in 1959 because he could not quietly accept de Gaulle's decision to give up Algeria. In this belligerent book he claims that de Gaulle police pursued him throughout Europe (he is now in Brazil), and he heaps scorn and invective on de Gaulle. He also reminisces about the World War II Resistance, pays tribute to the men and women of the Resistance, and recalls some of the most important of the post-war international conferences. The book is skilfully translated by Marianne Sinclair."—From **Publishers Weekly**

THE TEST BAN TREATY by James McBride (Regnery, 198 pages, $5.75).

"It is generally agreed that the Test Ban Treaty, signed in Moscow on Aug. 5, 1963, is one of the most important treaties of the twentiety century. Certainly it is the most significant arms control treaty of the nuclear age thus far.

"But while there is general agreement that the treaty is a milestone in postwar diplomacy, there has been widespread and vigorous disagreement as to its desirability from the viewpoint of national security.

"Despite the general public interest and heated controversy, however, there was little solid information available to the public upon which to base a thorough and objective study of the treaty's implications for national security until well after it was ratified and 102 nations had acceded to it.

"Nevertheless, in a democracy such as ours the public should have available to it an independent, unclassified analysis of the impact of the Test Ban Treaty, based upon essentially the same body of information that was available to the executive branch of the government. It is the purpose of this study to make such an analysis."—Excerpted from the introduction

THE WAR WE ARE IN by James Burnham (Arlington House, 349 pages, $6).

"The war drags on in Viet Nam. The pot simmers in the Middle East. Russia's new ABM defenses threaten to blow the Cold War wide open. And Lyndon shakes the bloody hands of Communist murderers.

"Every now and then, we owe it to ourselves to step back from this week's crisis and take stock. How much have we lost in the Third World War? (Burnham puts the starting date at April 1944 and for a persuasive reason.) Where have we done well? What chances have we missed, and why? What opportunities still remain?

"Above all, what happens next?

"James Burnham's latest, **The War We Are In,** is a sobering overview of what has happened, why we have let it happen, and what we can expect in the years ahead."—From Conservative Book Club Bulletin

THE MANCHESTER AFFAIR by John Corry (Putnam, 223 pages, $4.95).

"No battle in the history of book publishing was as sensational as the one that last winter blew up around, and nearly engulfed, William Manchester's **The Death of a President.**

"On one side were Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and a phalanx of friends, aides, advisers, sycophants and lawyers. On the other side were Mr. Manchester, who had been given the assignment by the Kennedys back in February, 1964, to write an authorized history of the assassination of John F. Kennedy; his agent, Don Congdon; the Cowles Communications empire, which had contracted to serialize the book in **Look** magazine; the book's publishers, Harper & Row; and another phalanx of lawyers.

"Most of the principals knew each other at least somewhat, and most of the non-Kennedys admired the Kennedys; relationships by marriage abounded, political alignments were in order, and everyone assumed that everyone else was intelligent, sophisticated, professional, reasonable and capable of being sympathetic to everyone else's point of view. The assumption, of course, turned out to be wrong—to a tragic degree, if one were involved, to a nearly comic degree if one were not.

"John Corry's 'behind-the-scenes' rehash of the battle of the book does not, as his publisher asserts, tell all, but it does tell most that is relevant. Mr. Corry, who was assigned by the **Times** last December to cover the dispute, probably had as much access to what went on as anyone, and his blow-by-blow (or hurt-by-hurt, or rudeness-by-rudeness) account displays the kind of empathetic understanding that seems to have been largely missing then. Because of its sense of balance, it is the best account so far.

"The real losers were the Kennedys and, according to Mr. Corry's estimated profit figures, the Kennedy Library, which received less money under the final settlement than it would have if Mrs. Kennedy had not sued.

"In the end, the Kennedys failed to kill either the book or the serialization. They did force certain changes in the text and prevent Mr. Manchester's acknowledging their or anyone else's help (except his wife's).

"'One truth that emerged from the great book dispute,'" Mr. Corry writes in polite understatement, 'is that the Kennedys are really not very good in dealing with people who have other commitments; they are, in fact, vulnerable to them.' It was probably this vulnerability or blindspot or arrogance—call it what you will—that more than anything else led to the incredible series of misjudgments and misunderstandings that Mr. Corry documents."—By Eliot Fremont-Smith in the New York **Times**

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China and the Bomb: Time Is Running Out

By REP. JOHN RHODES (R.-Ariz.)

The most significant development of 1967, perhaps of this century, is not the Hollybush summit meeting or the racial riots or Bobby Kennedy's conquest of the Grand Canyon that have dominated the news.

It was a clap of thermonuclear thunder out of Red China last June 17.

So engrossed were most Americans in the Mideast crisis (unless they had sons or husbands in Viet Nam) that this two-to-seven megaton blast went almost unheard. Officially, the Johnson Administration took little public note of it, though it is hard to believe the President and Premier Kosygin just ignored it in their secret Glassboro talks.

Here is the sobering historic record. In six test explosions—Communist China scoffs at the Kennedy-Khrushchev Test Ban Treaty of 1963—the "sleeping giant" of Asia moved from its first atomic device to an air-dropped H-bomb in less than three years.

The United States, slowed by soul-searching and indecision, took more than six years to cover the same ground. The Soviet Union took nearly four years. Every step in Red China's nuclear progress has proven swifter and more sophisticated than Western experts expected.

While our ancestors and the Russians' were hammering and hacking away at one another with clubs and swords, the ancient Chinese invented gunpowder and rocketry. But at first, remember, they used their fireworks as psychological weapons—to terrify and demoralize the enemy.

There is a curious correlation between the timing of major Red Chinese breakthroughs and important events in the West. The first atomic device was detonated by Communist China on October 16, 1964—at the height of our American Presidential campaign.

Nine months ago when we were again embroiled in a national election campaign—and President Johnson was visiting our Pacific allies and South Viet Nam—the Red Chinese capped a 500-mile ballistic missile with an atomic warhead and successfully test-fired both.

Now, while Israel and the Arab world are testing their conventional arms and the United States and the Soviet Union glower at each other in a "superpower" standoff, Red China rudely blows in the door of the exclusive H-Bomb Club.

True, the Chinese capability as a thermonuclear power is minor when compared to the huge stockpiles of the U.S. and USSR. But if China is only Number Four, it is certainly trying harder. As Gen. de Gaulle argues in Europe, the military difference between a nation with nuclear weapons and a nation with none is as great or greater than the difference between a nation with too many and one with only a few.

Moreover, and more disturbing, is the fact that Red China is ruled by the most ruthless and reckless Communists in the world, who reckon human life so cheaply as to shock their Russian and Eastern European allies. They are bound by no international obligations or pretenses and don't even bother to disguise their brutal and naked aggressive designs on the entire world.

Two days after our last election and two weeks after the Red Chinese fired their nuclear warhead missile, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara said it was "much too early to make a decision for a deployment (of a U.S. anti-ballistic-missile defense) against the Chinese threat." He has estimated that Communist China "could possibly develop and deploy a small force of ICBMs by the mid-to-latter part of the 1970s."

President Johnson and Mr. McNamara are still arguing, against the unanimous opinion of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the clear mandate (with the necessary money) of this Congress and the last Congress, that we should not get into an ABM defense race with the Russians. The Russians are going ahead with their deployment, which public sources say was started in 1963 or earlier, and Mr. Kosygin brushed off talk of any ABM moratorium at his United Nations news conference.

While I would not put much faith in any agreement with the Soviet Union, there is a slim basis for believing that reasons of mutual survival will dictate some responsibility in their thermonuclear strategy. Honest Americans may differ on this point. However, anyone who expects restraint from Red China ignores history and imperils future generations of Americans.

Think of the implications of thermonuclear blackmail by the warlords of Peking directed—with only the weapons and delivery systems they already have—at South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, South Viet Nam or Thailand. We have solemn defense treaties with all these Asian nations. Russia has one with Red China, despite all their angry words.

I believe the time has come for a thoroughgoing re-examination of America's defense posture and policies vis-a-vis Communist China now that Peking is a thermonuclear power. This one stark fact changes the whole game, and Asians know it if we don't.

As a first step, long overdue, President Johnson should reverse himself and Mr. McNamara and give the go-ahead for a limited deployment of an anti-ballistic-missile defense for which Congress has already voted about $4 billion and which our top military professionals have repeatedly recommended.

Whatever his batting average as a prophet, Mr. McNamara's own date when Red China will have a "small force of ICBMs" (how can any nuclear ICBM be called a small force?) is only eight years away. And Red China reportedly has some missile-carrying submarines now.

Some weeks have passed since the thermonuclear thunderclap was heard inside Red China. As House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford said then: "Time, unlike money, cannot be recovered."

Time is running out.

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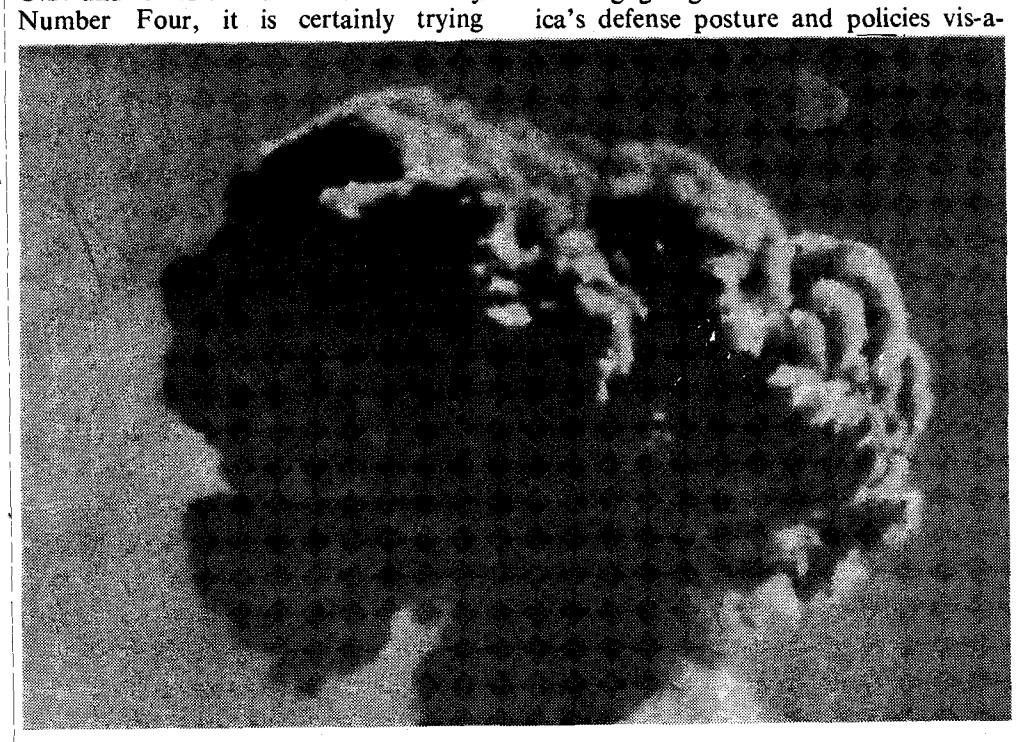
Rep. John Rhodes points out the historic dangers in dealing with the Red Chinese.



The mushroom cloud of Red China's recent H-test rises over the Sinkiang Desert.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Quiet Bleeding Hearts

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Almost lost in the shuffle of news dealing with riots in the cities and the war in Viet Nam is the case of Adam Clayton Powell, the Harlem Negro, who, as a member of Congress, converted thousands of dollars of government funds to his personal use and that of his friends. Early in January, the House of Representatives refused to seat Powell and this member took a leading part in that action. The society of bleeding hearts promptly denounced those who refused to seat him, insisting their action was too drastic. On April 11, a special election was held in Harlem and Powell was again elected.

Four months have now elapsed and Powell has refused to even present himself before the House to take the oath of office. Instead the Reverend Powell continues to disport himself on the island of Bimini—fishing and patronizing the End of the World Bar. Meanwhile, and strangely, U.S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark has made no effort to haul Powell into court and prosecute him for defrauding the government. Equally as strange, the bleeding hearts are now silent as to why Powell refuses to even try to claim the office to which he was elected on April 11. Why?

Congress' Rights

By REP. BOB PRICE (R.-Tex.)

Congress, while still 3-to-2 Democratic, is beginning to conduct itself as a separate branch of the government and to reassert its rights. Both House and Senate committees are now questioning the growing authority of the President at the expense of congressional power. The status of our involvement in Viet Nam and the future course of action should now be thoroughly investigated by Congress. When a nation fights a war, it must take risks but this Administration has been unwilling to take the risks to win. I believe it is past time that Congress assert its rights to declare war or do whatever is necessary to win.

Draft Revision

By REP. THOMAS B. CURTIS (R.-Mo.)

I think our society clearly has the capacity to move to a volunteer military manpower policy which would wipe out the inequities in the draft laws and produce a much superior defense establishment at a substantially less economic cost. Nor do I mean a large standing professional military establishment. Quite the contrary! For other values, I think it is very important that our society defend its institutions and ideals from outside attack on the basis of "the Cincinnati" . . . the essentially civilian citizen becoming the soldier to meet the emergency. This means a relatively large truly "ready reserve" of volunteer civilians who commit themselves to maintaining their skills and to be available when called as these national emergencies arise. Nor will this be a "mercenary" armed force, as some critics derogatorily suggest. All we need to do is provide the pay, the retirements, the fringe benefits which are provided in the civilian sector for comparable skills and commitments, both for the regular forces and the ready reserves. Having done that, patriotism will provide the motivation for sufficient numbers to meet the needs of the society. As it is, we are asking peoples' patriotism to carry an economic load as well as the sacrifice of not pursuing more pleasant occupations and, by compulsion, making up the difference. Fortunately, there have been many people in America, to date, who have been willing to make this double sacrifice without compulsion and those compelled do it with sufficient grace that the job gets done. All of us owe them a debt of gratitude.

Foreign Aid Help?

By SEN. EVERETT DIRKSEN (R.-Ill.)

It is high time for other countries to do a little more in the foreign assistance field. I am wondering how much France has been doing. It seems to me that if President de Gaulle wants to serve mankind and a feverish world best, instead of making a trip to this continent to stir up the people in Quebec, he might come around and suggest ways in which French money and French talents can be added to this kind of program in the name of France itself so as to alleviate some of the suffering and alleviate conditions that exist in the underdeveloped and undeveloped countries. That would be equally true of Great Britain. That would be true of Canada. It would be true of the Scandinavian countries. Certainly it would be true of Germany. I think when the President made a report some months ago he said, among other things, that he had managed to get some agreement on the part of other countries to be more helpful in this field, but, as yet, I have seen no facts or figures to indicate to what extent they are going to try to be helpful.

Algerian Gratitude

By REP. HAROLD COLLIER (R.-Ill.)

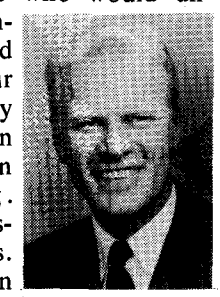
I am not going to hold my breath until world opinion becomes sufficiently aroused to demand that Moise Tshombe be granted political asylum, but I had hoped that our Department of State would lodge a strong protest with the government of Algeria. Our country has been very generous with that nation since it gained its independence from France in 1962. We have dispensed $165,200,000 in foreign aid to Algeria during the past 4 fiscal years:

1963	$76,600,000
1964	52,000,000
1965	15,200,000
1966	21,400,000
Total	165,200,000

The spending of such a substantial sum of money belies the statement of a State Department official that the Tshombe affair is "none of our business." During his tenure as Premier Mr. Tshombe cooperated with the United States in every possible way, especially during the period when his enemies in the Congo were killing American citizens.

Riots and Spending

By REP. GERALD FORD (R.-Mich.)



"Mr. Speaker, there are some calculating individuals who would undertake to take advantage of the disgrace and shame into which our nation has been led by launching a campaign for a big splurge in federal spending. Spending is not the answer to these problems. But this does not mean that we should abandon our efforts or scuttle worthwhile programs. They should be improved, but the problem is not one of dollars but of discipline. Discipline, self-respect, and some degree of law and order enforced on the local level by the local people is vital."

The quotation is *not* from a Republican. It was said on the floor of the House last Monday by my good friend, the Democratic Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, Rep. George Mahon (D.-Tex.).

Mr. Mahon had mentioned the billions which the House had appropriated this year for cities and for the poor: $3 billion for housing and community development (five times the amount available in 1960), $750 million for urban renewal, $237 million for maternal and child welfare, $1.4 billion for medical research and training, $1.6 billion for elementary and secondary education, $400 million for school lunches and milk, $300 million for the food stamp program, over $4 billion for public assistance (more than twice the amount appropriated in 1960)—to list just a few items. Chairman Mahon then concluded his remarks by saying, "The more we have appropriated for these programs, the more violence we have had. This refutes the idea that money alone is the answer to this problem." To all this I can only say "Amen."

Pentagon Slashes Troop Strength

Who's Going to Mind the Store?

By REP. JAMES HALEY (D.-Fla.)

Just how deeply we are becoming involved in the Viet Nam war can be seen from latest plans of the Pentagon to order large portions of the last remaining combat divisions in the United States into the fight.

This is an obvious lowering of our guard for any emergencies that might arise at home or any place else in the world where our interests may be threatened.

Normally these strategic reserve force troops based in the United States constitute an active duty force kept at home to meet sudden contingencies abroad. One of the five-plus divisions of the reserve—the 82nd Airborne in North Carolina—helped put down the 1965 crisis in the Dominican Republic.

Sending this strategic reserve into war, as the Pentagon has said it will do, will of course help meet the President's new troop authorization for Viet Nam. It is the intent of the Administration to increase our manpower commitment in the war to 525,000 by next summer. It is believed the 45,000-man increase in our troop commitment will be sent to Southeast Asia between October and next July.

Beyond question, this dimunition of the strategic reserve will cut our normal protection to a thin margin because it is said the Pentagon does not plan to replace units pulled from the strategic reserve for perhaps a year or 18 months. For the sake of economy and to avoid a call up of civilian reserve forces, Defense Secretary McNamara obviously is willing to take the gamble that no serious risk is entailed in diminishing these backup forces while meeting the manpower need in Viet Nam.

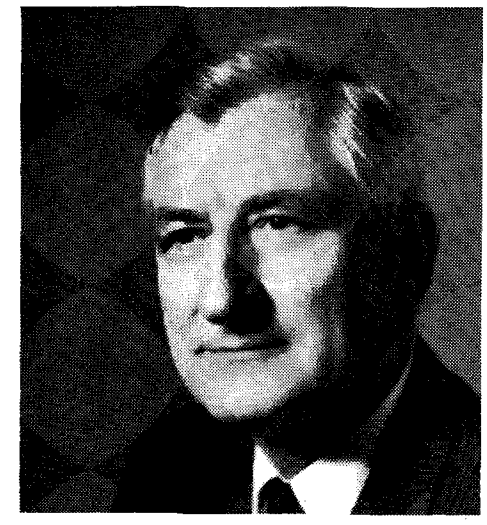
The stragetic reserve encompasses, in addition to the 82nd Airborne, the 101st Airborne Division in Kentucky, the 1st and 2nd Armored Divisions, the 5th Infantry Division Mechanized in Colorado, the 6th Armored Cavalry Regiment in Maryland, the 11th Infantry Brigade in Hawaii, and the 198th Infantry Brigade in Texas.

According to the Pentagon, the total strength of these units comprise about 83,000 men. Thus, we are about to see it stripped of more than half its strength in this country.

With tensions mounting in many places in the world, and in view of the fact that we have some 40-odd commitments for intervention in acts of aggression, it should be obvious to anyone that there is a serious risk to our future security in the deployment of so large a proportion of a great protective force to an area in which we already are so deeply committed.

I am by no means saying that we should not increase our manpower in Viet Nam in line with the recommendations of General Westmoreland and our other top commanders in that theater because I am for winning this war and getting out of there.

But what I am saying is that these increasing manpower needs long since should have been anticipated in the Pentagon and that stepped up training programs long since should have been put into effect so that these needs could be met without draining the strategic reserve force here at home. But Secretary McNamara said "no" too long.



Rep. Haley notes that Secretary McNamara hasn't foreseen the possible troop cuts.

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